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THE
AMERICAN
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. XII.

PHILADELPHIA:
CAREY, LEA & CAREY—CHESNUT STREET
1832

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AMERICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1832.

ART. I.—*Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet Esq., deputed from the London Missionary Society, to visit their various Stations in the South Sea Islands, China, India, &c., between the years 1821 and 1829. Compiled from Original Documents. By JAMES MONTGOMERY. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1831.*

WHEN the notes of travellers are too minute for publication, and also require methodizing, it is proper that they should be submitted to the supervision of a competent person like Mr. Montgomery. He has not, like Hawkesworth when compiling one of Cook's Voyages, sacrificed simplicity for the sake of meretricious ornament; nor has he, we are satisfied, like De Foe in the History of the Plague, considered it justifiable to introduce extraneous matter for the production of dramatic effect. Are we asked on what our reliance is founded, we reply—on the high moral reputation of the editor, whose fame, not limited to his native land, is extensively spread as a Christian moralist. The inhabitants of Sheffield, the town in which he long resided, testified their approbation of his conduct, and their appreciation of his labours in the cause of civil and religious liberty, by a public dinner in his honour, on the occasion of his relinquishing the editorship of a newspaper; nor was the honour unmerited, for his journal was conducted on moral principles. Many years ago, he published a poem under the singular title of Thoughts on Wheels, in which he took occasion to expatiate on the demoralizing tendency of lotteries, and in reference to them thus exhorted his country men:—

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“Bring
 From forth your camp the accursed thing,
 Consign it to remorseless fire,
 Watch till the latest spark expire,
 Then cast the ashes on the wind,
 Nor leave one atom wreck behind.”

Acting in the spirit which dictated these lines, he uniformly refused, while editor of the *Sheffield Iris*, to admit lottery advertisements, thus preserving consistency by a pecuniary sacrifice. A man so conspicuous for literature well applied, for moral probity, and for the esteem of his neighbours, must be considered as one worthy of general confidence. From the effects of Lord Byron's satire, in his powerful but splenetic *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, he has long recovered; and though Sheffield, enveloped in smoke from furnaces, and begrimed with oil and emery, may never become really, what Byron styled it ironically, *classic ground*, yet as having done honour to genius, it may rank with most other commercial and manufacturing towns, despite of the satire.

The great value of the volumes now under review, consists in the light which they throw on the effects of missionary labours amongst the heathen. The testimony of the deputation must indeed be regarded as that of friends rather than of unbiassed spectators; still, the facts that came under their immediate notice, or were received from competent authority, are more available than the sweeping generalizations of opponents, in forming a just conclusion respecting the utility of the attempt to Christianize and civilize savages. As it is desirable that the public should be put in possession of the means of forming a judgment on this important subject, and as these volumes, though about to be republished in this country, are too copious for general perusal, we think we shall be rendering a service to our readers, by furnishing them with a brief summary of the most striking particulars. This is the more necessary, as the volumes are rather too prolix even for those who take an interest in missionary establishments; a fault, excusable perhaps, when it is considered that Mr. Montgomery, being the son of a Moravian missionary, may be supposed to attach an undue importance to some things, which, to most other persons, must appear insignificant.

The romantic interest thrown over the isles of the Pacific by the early navigators, has been gradually removed, as the social and moral condition of the inhabitants of those remote regions has been developed by the minute and accurate accounts of residents. Before these accounts were published, the simplicity and felicity of Polynesia, as detailed by Cook, Bougainville, and Wilson, were considered as a realization of the golden age; the more so, as Omai and Lee Boo manifested so much gentleness and amiability as to excite the admiration of Europe. The day had

indeed gone by, when the unknown realms of Prester John, the "barbaric pearl and gold" of the Great Mogul, and the El Dorado of Guiana, could draw out adventurers with the enthusiasm of pilgrims to explore the hidden recesses of Oriental wealth ; but enough of the imaginative spirit remained, to people the Pacific isles with beings of earthly mould indeed, but who were free from the sordid feelings so prevalent in civilized communities. Dark spots in the picture were indeed obvious to the discerning few ; but to the gazing multitude they appeared only as a shaded back-ground, giving suitable relief to the more prominent scenes glittering with sunshine and flowers. Now, however, it is known that these islanders, so far from being what human beings should be, were brutalized by superstition so much as to resemble fiends incarnate. Wherever infanticide prevails, the tenderest feelings of nature are superseded by hard-hearted cruelty ; the maternal bosom, instead of swelling with pity and sympathy, being filled with malignant passions ; so that those persons who suppose that a nation in a state of ignorance is necessarily in the state of nature, must admit that they are in error, when informed that the Polynesians practise this crime to an almost unprecedented extent. The deputation were informed by one of the resident missionaries, that from the evidence accumulated by his brethren and himself, they found that previous to the introduction of the gospel, *three-fourths* of the children were murdered as soon as born, either by one of the parents, or by others who made a trade of infanticide ! A woman once acknowledged to them that she had destroyed eight of her own offspring, while another confessed that her murders amounted to seventeen ! In other respects, too, as we shall afterwards see, these people violated the best feelings of which the heart is susceptible.

On the arrival of the deputation at Tahiti, more familiarly known as Otaheite, the first of the missionary stations at which they touched, they received a cordial welcome from the resident teachers, while two of the native chiefs, each chose one of them as his *tayo* or friend, requesting a reciprocation of the compliment. Throughout Polynesia a similar mode of testifying friendship is prevalent, one proof amongst many of the common origin of the population. Indeed it is not difficult to understand how the various clusters of islands in the Pacific might be settled by the same people, as canoes have often been driven by stress of weather from one to another far remote ; a circumstance of which Captains Kotzebue and Beechy, as well as our travellers, respectively met with an instance. On asking the reason of some trees being marked in a particular manner, they were informed that when so marked they were *tabu*, that is, as they explain it, private property. The word *tabu* has, however, a more extensive, and generally a different meaning, being used to indicate that the

object to which it is applied is sacred and unapproachable; so it is explained by Stewart in his account of the Sandwich Islands, and by Nicolas, in his New Zealand Journal. When used to secure private property from depredation or injury, it seems to be appropriated by some person of power to his own advantage, cunningly availing himself of sacerdotal influence.

One of the strongest propensities of the islanders was to theft, a crime which the utmost vigilance of Cook was unable to prevent. They even worshipped an idol as the god of theft, whom, however, they would defraud as well as others, evading, by a subterfuge, the accomplishment of the promised sacrifice for success. But since the introduction of Christianity a marvellous improvement has taken place. A pair of gloves lost by Mr. Tyerman were brought to him by the finder of them; and though many packages were left unprotected for several nights, nothing was purloined. We are not, however, prepared to agree with the deputation in attributing this change entirely to the influence of the gospel on the hearts of the neophytes, as much of it is probably owing to the veneration bordering on superstition felt by them for their teachers. Accustomed as they have been to a blind confidence in the priesthood from early years, this confidence has been transferred to their new guides, and may account for much of the effect. We do not say this in disparagement of missionary exertions, but as explanatory of what we believe to be the real state of the case. The proneness of the ignorant to rely on their spiritual instructors, has produced correspondent effects in many instances, while yet the corrupt principle has remained triumphant. After, however, making every deduction, much will remain to demonstrate that the gospel, since its introduction amongst the Polynesians, has produced the happiest consequences; one of the most striking exemplifications of which is the change from barbarity and revenge to mildness and forgiveness. A few extracts will exhibit this.

“A man called upon us to offer a small present. In conversation with him we were struck with the humility, kindness, and devotional spirit which he manifested. On inquiry, afterwards, it appeared that this very person had been one of the most savage and remorseless of his species, so long as he remained an idolater and a warrior. On one occasion, having been sent by Pomare to destroy an enemy, he went, surprised his victim, ripped him up alive, and actually left the wretched man on the spot after his bowels had been torn out—the assassin not having mercy enough to put him out of torture by another stroke. After their ferocious conflicts were over, the conquerors were wont to pile the slain in heaps, with their heads towards the mountains and their feet towards the sea. Next morning they would visit the carcasses to wreak the impotent of an unappeasable vengeance upon them, by mangling them in the most shocking ways that brute cruelty or demoniac frenzy could devise. One would turn up the face of a slaughtered enemy, and grinning with fiend-like malice upon it, would exclaim—‘Aha! you killed my father at such a place, now I will punish you!’ Another would say to a putrefying corpse—‘You robbed me of my wife, and now I will have my revenge.’ Then they would mutilate the limbs and trample

them in the dust, cut off the head, pound it to pulp, dry it in the sun, and, when converted to powder, scatter it on the wind; sometimes even, we have been assured, they would prepare the body itself in such a manner that it became parched up like leather, and then they would wear it over their own shoulders, in the manner of one of their *tibutas*, thrusting their head through a hole made for the purpose, the arms and legs dangling down, before and behind, till the loathsome envelope dropped, piecemeal, from their backs. Their outrages upon the women and children, both living and dead, of their vanquished foes, when they sacked their dwellings, cannot be described."

This conduct of the savages is like that of children, when they kick a stone for revenge of having stumbled over it, so that it is really the impulse of untutored nature, and might, perhaps, on that account, have been admired by Monboddó and Rousseau. A more interesting spectacle, however, is that of the legislative assembly of Tahiti, when deliberating on the proper punishment for murder, in which a debate took place of no ordinary interest, on a proposal that the punishment should be banishment for life to a desolate island. Hitoti, a chief, thus expressed himself:—

"No doubt this is a good law, but a thought has been growing in my heart for several days, and when you have heard my little speech, you will understand what it is. The laws of England, from which country we have received so much good of every kind—must not they be good? And do not the laws of England punish murderers by death? Now, my thought is, that as England does so, it would be well for us to do so: that is my thought."

To this, Utami thus replied:—

"The chief of Papeete has said well, that we have received a great many good things from the kind Christian people of England. Indeed what have we not received from Britain? Did they not send us the gospel? But does not Hitoti's speech go too far? If we take the laws of England for our guide, then must we not punish with death those who break into a house?—those who write a wrong name?—those who steal a sheep? And will any man in Tahiti say that death should grow for these?—No, no, this goes too far; so I think we should stop. The law, as it is written, I think is good; perhaps I am wrong, but that is my thought."

After some compliments to the preceding speakers, Upuparu gave his opinion.

"My brother Hitoti, who proposed that we should punish murder with death because England does so, was wrong, as has been shown by Utami; for they are not the laws of England which are to guide us, though they are good:—the Bible is our perfect guide. Now *Mitti Trutu* (the Missionary Crook) was preaching to us from the scripture,—'He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;'—and he told us that this was the reason of the law of England. My thought, therefore, is not with Utami but with Hitoti,—though not because the law of England, but because the Bible orders it,—that we ought to punish with death every one guilty of murder."

This speech occasioned considerable sensation, so that when Tati rose to reply, every eye was fixed on him.

"Perhaps," said he, "some of you may be surprised that I, who am the first chief here, and next to the royal family, should have held my peace so long. I wished to hear what my brethren would say, that I might gather what thoughts had grown in their breasts on this great question. I am glad that I waited, because some thoughts are now growing in my own breast which I did not bring

with me. The chiefs who have spoken before me have spoken well ; but is not the speech of Upuparu like that of his brother Hitoti—in this way ? If we cannot follow the laws of England in all things, as Hitoti's thoughts would perhaps lead us, because they go too far,—must we not stop short of Upuparu, because his thought goes too far likewise ? The Bible, he says, is our perfect guide :—it is ; but what does that Scripture mean,—‘ He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed ? ’ Does not this go so far that we cannot follow it to the end, any more than we can follow the laws of England all the way ? I am Tati ; I am a judge ;—a man is convicted before me ; he has shed blood ; I order him to be put to death ; I shed *his* blood ; then who shall shed mine ? Here, because I cannot go so far, I must stop. This cannot be the meaning of those words ; but perhaps, since many of the laws of the Old Testament were thrown down by the Lord Jesus Christ, and only some kept standing upright,—perhaps, I say, this is one of those which were thrown down. However, as I am ignorant, some one else will show me, that, in the New Testament, our Saviour or his apostles have said the same thing concerning him that sheddeth man's blood, as is said in the Old Testament. Show me this in the New Testament, and then it must be our guide.”

Tati was succeeded by Pati, whose speech was as follows.

“ My breast is full of thought, and surprise, and delight. When I look round at this house of God in which we are assembled, and consider who we are that take sweet counsel together here, it is to me all a thing of amazement, a thing that makes glad my heart. Tati has settled the question ; for is it not the gospel that is our guide ?—and who can find directions for putting to death ? I know many passages which forbid, but I know not one which commands to kill. But then another thought is growing in my breast, and if you will hearken to my little speech, you shall know what it is. Laws to punish those that commit crime are good for us ; but tell me, why do Christians punish ? Is it because we are angry and have pleasure in causing pain ? Is it because we love revenge, as we did when we were heathens ? None of these : Christians do not love revenge ; Christians must not be angry ; they cannot have pleasure in causing pain ; Christians do not therefore punish for these. Is it not that, by the suffering which is inflicted, we may prevent the criminal from repeating his crime, and frighten others from doing as he has done to deserve the like ? Well then, does not every body know that it would be a greater punishment to be banished for ever from Tahiti to a desolate island, than just, in a moment, to be put to death ? And could the banished man commit murder again there ? And would not others be more frightened by such a sentence than by one to take away his life ? So my thought is that Tati is right, and the law had best remain as it has been written.”

Others argued, that as one end of punishment is to reclaim the offender, exile, not death, would afford the only chance of attaining it ; so the result was a unanimous decision that death should not be inflicted. What can more strongly evince the efficacy of gospel principles, than that a body of men, who, a few years ago, were revengeful not only to death, but even after death ; who were so callous to humanity that their own children were murdered by them without pity or remorse ; should now decide in their collective capacity, that the punishment of death is irreconcilable with the benign spirit of their new religion ? May not those nations in which Christianity has been for centuries established, take a lesson from these interesting proselytes ? In one respect, at least, they are exemplary :—their assembly is held with order and decorum, no interruption being given to a speaker.

On reaching one of the Sandwich Islands, the deputation found

as many as eleven American vessels in the harbour; a convincing proof of the extent and importance of our commerce in the Pacific. All the captains gave them a friendly reception, proffering their assistance in a cordial manner. Of one of them they tell a pleasant tale. He had furnished them with a boat to go on shore, but the steersman being unskillful, they were upset in the surf, and narrowly escaped from being drowned. The captain afterwards expressed to them his sorrow for their misfortune and congratulation at their happy escape, adding, "I don't wonder, for I guess the fellow was always a fool at steering a boat." This naturally produced an inquiry, why he had not sent a better hand, to which he answered simply enough—"O! he was the steerer that belonged to that boat."

The missionaries at these islands, not having succeeded, at that time, in Christianizing the natives, the deputation were enabled to contrast the condition of the converted people they had left with that of the heathen. They found it inferior not only in morals, but as it respected their habitations and clothing. It is, however, satisfactory to know, as may be known by consulting Stewart's Visit to the islands, that since the change has been effected, improvement equal, if not superior, to that of the Society Isles, has supervened: and that there is reasonable ground for belief that civilization will become, at no distant period, the prevailing characteristic. We may here take the opportunity to express our dissatisfaction with the missionaries for having, when reducing the oral language to alphabetical writing, adopted the vowel sounds in somewhat an arbitrary manner. Had they followed any one of the European languages, their plan would have had the merit of consistency, and as the natives are likely to have more intercourse with the Americans and the English, than with people speaking French, Spanish, or Russ, we think that the English alphabet should have been selected in preference. The one that they have adopted is neither French, Italian, nor German, but apparently a compound of the three.

The following notice is not uninteresting:—

"In the course of our ramble, our guide pointed out the hollow in the volcanic mass, where the body of Captain Cook was roasted, and a little further on, the place where his arms and legs were submitted to the same process. This was, in fact, the highest honour that his murderers, with the inconsistency of savages, could show to his remains; the corpses of their kings and chiefs being prepared in a similar manner, that the flesh might be more easily separated from the bones, and the skeleton afterwards put together and preserved, as an object not only of reverence but of religious homage. The relics of Cook were thus worshipped in a temple of Rono, one of the gods of Hawaii, of whom the people had a notion that the British navigator was the representative, if not an incarnation of him."

Numerous accounts of the horrors of idolatry are given, some of which it seems proper to extract, that the reader may be fully

informed of the degradation from which the natives have been rescued, by the benevolent labours of the missionaries.

"The following cruel practice is said to have been observed during the dark age of idolatry, and so late as the reign of the last king, Tamehamea. The shark was distinguished by divine honours here, as in the South Pacific. When, therefore, the king or the priests of this divinity, so worthy of its worshippers, imagined that the shark wanted food, they sallied forth with their attendants, one of whom carried a rope with a ready-prepared running noose attached to it. Then, wherever they found a number of persons assembled, the rope was thrown unexpectedly among them, in the same manner as the Spaniards of South America catch wild cattle in the herd, and whoever happened to be taken in the snare, whether man, woman, or child, was strangled upon the spot, the body cut in pieces, and thrown into the sea, to be bolted down by the rapacious fishes, to appease their supposed anger, or propitiate their favour in some iniquitous enterprise.

"At the village of Wytiti, about four miles to the east of Honoruru, there formerly lived a chief of singular ferocity; Giant Despair himself, in the Pilgrim's Progress, was not more brutal and reckless. When he had a fancy to offer a human sacrifice, he would set out in his canoe, with a single servant, in the dead of night, and come down the bay till he got along shore, close by the town. The two harpies would then raise a lamentable cry, as though they were perishing in the water; when the first person who happened to be alarmed, and from the instinct of humanity flew to their relief, was pounced upon, his back broken, and his corpse carried off to be presented at the marae.

"In the year 1804, when the late king, Tamehamea, was on his way from Hawaii to invade Tanai, he halted with an army of eight thousand men at Oahu. The yellow fever broke out among the troops, and, in the course of a few days, swept away more than two-thirds of them. During the plague, the king repaired to the great marae at Wytiti, to conciliate the god, whom he supposed to be angry. The priests recommended a ten days' tabu, the sacrifice of three human victims, four hundred hogs, as many cocoa-nuts, and an equal number of branches of plantains. Three men, who had been guilty of the enormous turpitude of eating cocoa-nuts with the old queen, were accordingly seized and led to the marae. But there being yet three days before the offerings could be duly presented, the eyes of the victims were scooped out, the bones of their arms and legs were broken, and they were then deposited in a house to await the *coup-de-grace* on the day of sacrifice. While these maimed and miserable creatures were in the height of their suffering, some persons, moved by curiosity, visited them in prison, and found them neither raving nor desponding, but sullenly singing the national *huru*—dull as the drone of a bagpipe, and hardly more variable—as though they were insensible to the past, and indifferent to the future. When the slaughtering time arrived, one of them was placed under the legs of the idol, and the other two were laid, with the hogs and fruit, upon the altar-frame. They were then beaten with clubs upon the shoulders till they died of the blows. This was told us by an eye-witness of the murderous spectacle."

Now, whatever opinion men may entertain of missionary labours, it will scarcely be denied, that, when directed to the extirpation of enormities like these, they are in accordance with the spirit of Christianity; and when we are assured, on unimpeachable authority, that success has been obtained, it would be not only uncharitable but criminal to condemn them. Worship under a Christian form has superseded idolatry: the idols are broken or burnt, and the foundation of enlightened civilization has been laid, as the following passages testify:—

"This day was celebrated as a public festival by the inhabitants of the settlement. The entertainment was prepared on the large *patu*, or stone pier in

the sea, commencing at the length of a plank from the beach. On the last occasion of the kind, about six months ago, the company squatted on their hams according to the ancient practice, except the members of one family, who had provided a sofa, a table, and knives and forks for themselves, to the admiration if not the envy of all the rest. To prompt the people to industry, and by industry to increase their domestic comforts, the missionaries at that time had strenuously recommended, that all who meant to join in partaking the good fare at the next opportunity, should, if possible, supply themselves with the like accommodations. And so cordially was the advice received, and so diligently acted upon, that, though a thousand persons dined together on this occasion, all were seated on sofas, chairs, or stools, with convenient tables before them, on which their provisions were decently set out, and around which they enjoyed their social meal, in such a manner as had never been witnessed before in their own or their fathers' times.

"Before day-break the people began to make the necessary arrangements. The rough coral pavement of the patu was overlaid with fresh grass, and an awning of native cloth was expanded over the whole space to be occupied, so as effectually to protect them from the fierce rays of the sun. Before noon all things were ready, and the guests had taken their places; where each family found their own food, principally vegetable, and cooked in various ways. A few brought baked hogs and fish. The tables were covered with purau-matting and native cloth. The utensils upon them, as may be imagined, were very miscellaneous. Those who had plates, knives, forks, spoons, crockery, or metal wares of any kind which could be used in eating or drinking, exhibited all their *papa*, (foreign property,) and handled the strange things with more dexterity, but not with more good humour, than might have been expected, where each was determined to do his best, and to be pleased with what his neighbours did.

"After dinner, various chiefs and others addressed the company in brief and spirited appeals to their memory of the abominations of past times, and to their gratitude for the glorious and blessed changes which the gospel of Christ had wrought among them. They compared their present manner of feasting, their improved dress, their purer enjoyments, their more courteous behaviour, the cleanliness of their persons, and the delicacy of their language in conversation, with their former gluttony, nakedness, riot, brutality, filthy customs and obscene talk. One of the speakers observed—'At such a feast as this, a few years ago, none but kings or great chiefs, or strong men, could have got any thing to eat; the poor, and the feeble, and the lame, would have been trampled under foot, and many of them killed in the quarrels and battles that followed the gormandizing and drunkenness.' 'This,' said another, 'is the reign of Jehovah; that was the reign of Satan. Our kings might kill us for their pleasure, and offer our carcasses to the Evil Spirit; our priests and our rulers delighted in shedding our blood. Now, behold, our persons are safe, our property is our own, and we have no need to fly to the mountains to hide ourselves, as we used to do when a sacrifice was wanted for Oro, and durst not come back to our homes till we heard that a victim had been slain and carried to the marae.' "

So great is the change effected amongst these people, that a converted priest of Oro was afraid to exhibit himself, even in sport, in his former capacity; a proof, we think, of the sincerity of his heart. The account of him is worth transcribing.

"*Ture no Oro*, or Oro's house, was a small structure, only about eight feet long by six in width. About three yards beyond, and upon the ground, lay a flat stone, twelve or fourteen inches square, on which the priest of Oro formerly was accustomed to stand, when he offered his prayers and practised his enchantments. Close to this, rising behind it, was another stone, sufficiently broad and elevated to form a seat for him when weary, or when the duty of his office required him to assume the posture of repose. Without due consideration, we requested the old priest to take his stand, and show us in what manner he prayed to Oro, and delivered oracles to the people. With undisguised reluc-

tance he consented, and stepped upon the accursed spot, from which he had so often, in times past, acted the part both of the deceiver and the deceived. But when he was about to repeat one of the prayers to Oro—as though he had come within the grasp of the power of darkness, and felt himself in the act of apostacy—fear came upon him and trembling, that made all his bones to shake; and down from his station he leaped with precipitancy, crying out, ‘I dare not do it—I dare not do it.’ He was so troubled that he left the scene as hastily as he could, declaring that if he did such a thing he should die immediately. We were much affected, and regretted having inadvertently brought him into such terror and peril, while we could not but admire his conscientiousness.”

The reader is now furnished with materials to form a judgment respecting the utility of missionary efforts to reclaim the heathen; yet, before we quit the subject, we may properly advert to an objection likely to be raised by many, respecting the motives of those men who have devoted themselves to the task. Many of them, it will perhaps be urged, are actuated by ambition, or by a quixotic desire of emulating the apostles, and some by the prospect of obtaining easy independence at the expense of subscribing dupes. Now, when good results from extraordinary exertions, it is rather uncharitable to impute bad motives, in cases where these are not obvious. Men who leave behind them the pleasures and advantages of civilized Christian society, for a voluntary exile amongst savage idolaters; who, for a series of years, submit to privations and inconveniences which few of their opponents would encounter for the benefit of strangers; and who long endure neglect and scorn; men who thus act, not for the gratification of impure desires, nor for the relaxation of the bonds of morality, may reasonably be supposed to be under the influence of Christian love. If, however, some have departed from their profession and disgraced both themselves and the cause—and this, unhappily, has sometimes been the case*—the blame should fall on those individuals, and not on the whole body of missionaries; though, perhaps, the societies which deputed them, are not exempt from the charge of indiscretion, in the selection of their agents.

In one respect, both the missionaries and their friends appear to err; we allude to their practice of lauding the conduct of the heathen converts. That many of these have experienced a salutary change of heart, and have been desirous of living conformably to the gospel, seems apparent; but that they should be represented as superior to others in Christian countries, is not so obvious. King Pomare, though professedly a Christian, was an habitual drunkard; so that it is difficult to conceive that he was not either a hypocrite, or a fanatic. To the remark of a missionary to him on his deathbed, that no one but Christ could succour him, he responded—“None but Christ!” Was this a heartfelt avowal? or was it only cant or mere echo? Whether one or the

* See the *Narrative of an Eight Years’ Residence in Tongataboo.*—Lond. 8vo.

other, as he had lived to the last in the practice of a degrading vice, laudatory epithets respecting him might well have been spared; yet the following is the language of the deputation:—

“Mr. Nott, among other curiosities, showed us a manuscript copy of the translated Gospel of St. Luke, executed by King Pomare in a very neat, small hand. It was from this copy that the first edition of that Evangelist was printed. Mr. Nott stated that he had been greatly aided by Pomare in making that version, the king being better acquainted with the Tahitian language than most of his subjects. This is probably an unparalleled instance of a prince—and that no mean one, for he had the power of life and death, and his will was law in all cases throughout his dominions—devoting time and talents to the slow and painful labour of translating the sacred scriptures, and copying out the work for the press with his own hand, that he might be the means of bestowing upon his people the greatest earthly boon which God has bestowed upon man.”

In order to enhance Pomare's merit, the translating of the gospel is represented not simply as a slow but as a painful process, though why it should be so styled, does not appear. It is, however, clear, that the translation was not effected by him at all! How, indeed, could a person, who knew only a few words and phrases of a foreign language, translate a book from that language into his own? That Pomare assisted the missionary who translated, by freeing his style from Anglicisms, is probable; but surely this could not justly entitle him to the panegyric of our authors. Mr. Nott made the version, and Pomare assisted him in putting it into the vernacular idiom; and for so doing, he is represented as surpassing all other sovereigns! Did it never occur to them, that amongst the occupiers of thrones, have been some of the most active patriots that ever lived? Who can regard the labours of Peter the Great, for the elevation of his country from barbarism, without the highest admiration? He travelled into foreign countries to learn different systems of polity; he worked at various mechanical arts, particularly that of ship-carpentry; he studied the mathematics, navigation, anatomy, and medicine; he acquired several languages, and translated various works into Russian from the French; and all this he accomplished after he was twenty-five years old! He did not, however, confine his knowledge to himself, but in the midst of obstacles which would have deterred ordinary men from proceeding, he employed it for the benefit of his country, introducing the arts, establishing commerce, improving agriculture, and exciting a taste for literature. Russia, which, before his time, was almost unknown to the rest of Europe, has risen to be a power of first rate importance, mainly by the impulse given by this extraordinary man. Scarcely, if at all inferior to him, was another monarch justly styled the Great—Alfred of England, whose early education had also been neglected; yet, though he fought about fifty battles, reformed the administration of justice, and restored his kingdom from anarchy to submission to lawful authority, after having expelled his country's foes, he found time to learn Latin, and to

translate Bede, Orosius, and Boethius into Anglo-Saxon. The last named author was also translated by Queen Elizabeth. We think, accordingly, that Pomare's merit is exceedingly limited when compared with that of others in his station. If the Society Islands owe to him the Gospel of Luke, Spain is indebted to Alphonso X. for her first translation of the scriptures at large, while science gratefully acknowledges that the celebrated astronomical tables published under his name, were useful for ages.

That part of the work relative to the missionaries and their labours may now be dismissed; but some miscellaneous information scattered through the volumes deserves attention. Of New-Zealand we learn no particulars illustrative of the character of the natives, beyond what we have already learnt from the volumes of Nicolas, Savage, and Cruse; indeed, the Deputation made too short a stay to gain much knowledge respecting them. To a remark of theirs, that the natives imagined a man afflicted with pleurisy to be possessed by some evil spirit, we may add, that according to Nicolas, this is a prevalent superstition respecting any incurable malady. In the case which they witnessed, the missionaries had applied a blister, and as the man's sufferings were considerable, inwardly from the complaint, and outwardly from the blister, he fancied that the Christian spirit, as he termed the blister, held a contest with the native spirit, each striving for mastery! As a cure was effected, he said that the Christian spirit succeeded at length in tearing the other out of his breast!

Arrived at Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, they were delighted with its appearance, not having seen a town inhabited by civilized people for upwards of three years; but though civilized, as far as a knowledge of the arts constitutes civilization, they are far from being what civilized people should be. "Among the South Sea Islanders," say our authors, "we had no fear for our persons or our property, by day or by night. Here we are surrounded with thieves, and violent men of the worst character, and must look well to ourselves and our locks for security." All this is not to be wondered at, considering the class which form the population of the nascent colony; but a better state of things will doubtless ensue, when the number of those born there, exceeds that of the English convicts in such a proportion as to render the latter comparatively unimportant. Convicts were formerly sent to some of the colonies now forming part of the United States; yet no one pretends to say, that their moral condition now is below that of the other states, at least, from such a cause. The only novel information we notice, connected with New South Wales, is the mode adopted by the savages of punishing a murderer; for though Collins has given copious particulars respecting them, this appears to have been unknown to him. The

criminal, armed only with a wooden shield and a staff, is placed naked in the centre of a circle formed by spectators. Two relatives of the murdered man then throw each a spear at him; if he wards them off, two others are discharged, and if then successful, he must encounter others to the number of one hundred and fifty in all; when, if uninjured, he is dismissed from further punishment. A man who was *spearred* while the Deputation were there, came off triumphant. The Australians, by their account, are inferior in mental capacity to the New-Zealanders; a conclusion correspondent to that drawn by Crawford in his History of the Indian Archipelago, in which work, the two races from which they respectively sprung, are philosophically described. Nicolas appears to be of the same opinion; so that, perhaps, Gibbon's splendid compliment to his brother historian may be realized, and some future New-Zealander may arise, the Hume of the southern hemisphere.

During the stay of the Deputation in Batavia, they had opportunities of observing the ways and manners of the Chinese residents, who appear to be numerous.

"These foreigners," they say, "live generally in small low houses, to each of which is attached a shop, with all manner of wares, drugs, fruits, &c., exposed for sale both within and without. In every shop, opposite to the front door, is an idol, painted on paper—a fat, squat, old man, a fiery flying dragon, a monstrous fish, or some horrible figure, before which is placed a petty altar—a little pot, containing fragrant gums, or sticks of sandal wood, which are kept continually burning. The ashes are carefully preserved, and accumulate in the vessel, till one or another of the family is going on a journey or a voyage, when a handful is taken out of the precious deposite, and thrown upon the road, or the water, to make the way safe, and the adventure prosperous. Mr. Medhurst conversed from door to door with many of these people, in their own language. They were exceedingly courteous, and offered us tea and tobacco from time to time. The tea is prepared in porcelain pots, holding about a pint each, and dealt out in very small cups, without any addition of sugar or cream.

"These people are very superstitious respecting the sites in which they deposite the relics of their friends, imagining that the future prosperity of their families depends upon the lucky choice of them. To secure such an advantage they will often consult such crafty knaves as, under one name or another, are found in all countries, who cast nativitics, tell fortunes, recover lost goods, and do every thing that nobody else can do. The following marvellous story was told to Mr. Medhurst as a fact, by a Chinese who solemnly believed it. A young man, at his death, having left a father and several brothers behind, whose success in after life was to be determined by the hazard of his interment in good ground, one of these wise men was applied to for advice. He, being properly fed, pointed out a spot, which he charged them to keep closed upon the dead youth for seven years, at the expiration of which, if they opened it, they would find in it a full formed dragon, the emblem of the highest honours and riches that they could desire, either for themselves or their posterity. Five or six years afterwards, the father fell dangerously ill, and, as no means employed to relieve him were of any avail, the family concluded that there must be something unlucky in the place of his son's burial. They therefore asked his permission to open it. 'No, no,' cried the old man, 'rather let me die than break the charm and destroy the future hopes of my children.' But, agonized with disease, and harassed by their importunity, he, at length, yielded to their wishes. The vault was opened—when lo! to their utter consternation, they found the dragon so

nearly perfected, that he only wanted one leg and half his tail! In an instant the fortunes of all were ruined; for the spell not being completed, left nothing but dust and disappointment when it was violated."

In one house which they entered, they were surprised to see a man offering divine honours to a portrait of Napoleon, and on asking him what induced him to worship an article of European manufacture, he replied—"O we worship any thing." That polytheists have no objection to increase indefinitely the number of their deities, and that the most ignorant idolaters can offer their adorations to any consecrated object, are well known facts; but that any thing will serve a Chinese for a divinity, is, we believe, not equally well known. This degradation of intellect in a semi-civilized people appears almost inexplicable.

During the stay of our authors in Java, they made a journey to Solo, the sovereign of which is styled emperor—a mock-title so long as the Dutch remain masters of the island. He supports, however, much state, as the following account of him shows:—

"We had an opportunity of seeing the emperor on his way to the mosque. He rode in a magnificent carriage, preceded and followed by a large retinue of servants and soldiers, with flags flying and instruments of music sounding. A younger brother alighted first from the carriage, bearing a golden spitting-dish before him. His majesty, who is a graceful youth, about eighteen years of age, was dressed in loose, black robes, flowing down to his feet, which were without stockings and sandalled. He walked with much dignity, bearing a sword, with a golden scabbard, in his right hand. We were not permitted to enter the mosque while the royal worshippers were there, though we had seen the interior before. The place for service is a hundred and twenty feet square, besides a spacious veranda all round it; and beyond this, there is a broad moat in which devotees wash their feet before they tread the holy place. We observed nothing particular within, except an immense drum suspended, for what purpose we did not learn.

"In the evening we were sumptuously entertained by the resident governor, and General De Kock. A large party of civil and military gentlemen and their ladies were present, all of whom appeared interested in the missionary intelligence which we gave them. Having expressed a desire to be introduced to the emperor, his excellency procured us that honour.

"Alighting at the first court belonging to the royal residence, we walked through that and two beyond, which were thronged with thousands of spectators—all kept in perfect order by native soldiers on duty. In the fourth and centre court, where the palace stands, the military presented arms, and let fall their colours, in honour of the governor and the general, under whose convoy we were admitted. The people were all sitting cross-legged, having their persons, in general, uncovered as low as the chest. We found the emperor in this fourth quadrangle, enthroned on a state platform, which was raised four steps from the ground, and supported by pillars, low and open on all sides. As we approached the presence, his majesty rose up, and advanced to the margin of the platform, where he took the hands of General De Kock and the governor, and bowed graciously to the rest of us, who were in their train. General De Kock, as deputy-governor of the whole Dutch possessions in Java, was placed in a chair of state, on the emperor's right hand, and the resident local governor in an ordinary one on his left. Three rows of chairs were ranged on each side, in front of these, to accommodate the Dutch officers and ourselves, on the right, and the native courtiers and nobility on the left. The emperor wore a black vest, close at the neck, and reaching to the waist; below which a Javanese cloth, dark brown, spotted with white, descended to the mid-leg; his stockings were light-coloured, and

his shoes black, with gold buckles. He had on his head a conic-shaped hat, without brim, of a chocolate colour, and encircled with bands. The only extraneous ornaments about the royal person, were three brilliant stars of jewel-work upon his breast. The throne was nearly four feet square, covered with yellow silk, and splendidly fringed and flowered with gold; the legs also appeared burnished gold; and the height convenient for sitting upright, which his majesty did with great dignity, though there were neither elbows nor back to rest upon. A sword in a gold scabbard lay at his side, and a superb criss hung in a belt behind him. When all had taken their stations, the sovereign conversed affably with his distinguished visitors, the general and the governor, for some minutes. Tea, coffee, sweetmeats, and wine, were then successively handed round to the company. Whenever the emperor drank, he touched the glasses of the two gentlemen on his right and left with his own, and then looked graciously round upon the rest of us, as though he were pledging his guests. On his left hand, at the distance of twenty paces, the folding-doors of the royal apartments being open, discovered great magnificence in the furnishing and embellishments.

"Out of these rooms presently issued a number of dancing-girls, who, crouching down, and working their way on their heels, in spite of the impediments of their long dresses and awkward attitude, seated themselves on a platform just on the outside of the folding-doors, and over against the emperor. Near them were placed a band of Javanese musicians, and a multitude of singers. On the emperor's right hand, another band, also Javanese, but with European instruments, appeared. The girls were not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age, sumptuously apparelled; those parts of the person which were exposed—as the face, neck, arms, and legs—were stained of a delicate yellow tint by means of a liquid prepared from sandal-wood and perfumes. When the musicians and singers began to play and chaunt, the girls rose slowly from the ground, making many graceful and significant motions with their arms, hands, and heads. These were at first very slow, never violent, and always simultaneous, as though the tunes or the burdens of the songs put one spirit into the whole—such a perfect consonance appeared in all their gestures and attitudes, while their countenances changed not for a moment their expression, or rather their passionless quietude of aspect. In most of their gesticulations the girls made use of a beautiful scarf, or zone, of which both ends hung down to their feet; sometimes unfolding these loose parts, by slightly raising the edges as with a touch; then throwing the one or the other over the shoulder or the arm, or passing them as veils before the face. The richly ornamented cloth, also, that girt the loins, had a long corner which fell to the ground, and lay in a train behind. This, in the course of the dance, they played with as fantastically as with the scarf above, spurning it with the heel or the toe, first to one side, then to the other. There did not seem to be any intentional indecorum in any of their movements; and certainly, for the gentlest and easiest exhibition of limbs and bodies, significantly following the sounds of instruments and voices, nothing could be less offensive. While we were looking on, attendants of the bands several times approached the emperor's officers, as if to receive orders. These servile creatures uniformly crawled, forward or backward, crouching on the ground, as though they were reptiles that feared to be spurned by the feet of their superiors while communicating with them. Both in advancing and retiring, they put the palms of their hands flat together, raising them till the thumbs came over the bridge of the nose. It was humbling to see human nature so degraded.

"After the lapse of half an hour, when we had concluded that this was all the entertainment to which we had been invited, the Emperor rose, and we were directed to follow. To our surprise we were conducted into another open court, like that which we had left, where a vast range of tables, in the form of a capital T, appeared, loaded with piles of all kinds of substantial meats, delicacies, and fruits, which the country afforded, set out in European style. The tables were so crowded with dishes that there was not room for another, and even the interstices were filled up with brilliant or aromatic flowers. The emperor took his seat in the centre of the arrangement, the general and the resident governor, as before, on his right and left; the rest of us, natives and foreigners, occupying the

remaining places. The breakfast (so it was called) was indeed sumptuous; and every thing was conducted with as much order as it might have been in the palace of a European prince. Multitudes of servants were in waiting. A band, detached from the other musicians, during the feast played on their various instruments exhilarating tunes, and among the rest, in compliment to us—the deputation from England—*God save the King*. All the while, the girls were dancing in the distance, the Japanese minstrels and singers accompanying them as before. The emperor honoured each of his guests with the opportunity of taking wine with him. Two or three toasts were also given, which were drunk by all the company.

“The emperor again rose up, and we returned after him to the dancing scene. The girls who had hitherto been engaged, now retired, and another company made their appearance, dressed like the former. When they were all seated, an old woman entered, and laid down at the feet of each, an instrument resembling a bow, with an arrow on the string, about two feet long, lacquered red and decorated with gold. The dancers soon afterwards rose and went through all the evolutions of the others, holding these bows in their hands, which added exceedingly to the beauty and picturesque effect of their groups and attitudes. The wheels and pinions of the most exquisite machinery could not more exactly have performed the prescribed motions,—nor, we may add, have betrayed less consciousness of what they were doing, so far as their looks might be regarded as the interpreters of feelings and thoughts within them. The airs, we were informed, and the songs, to which the dancers acted their parts, were national and mythological, referring to the wars and superstitions of the country. In due time we rose to depart, and, after wishing him a long and prosperous reign, were permitted to shake hands with his majesty. This token of friendship he bestowed with apparently hearty good will. The whole deportment of the emperor was that of unaffected dignity, ease, and condescension. In this respect no potentate of Christendom could have much excelled him. His nearest relatives, ministers of state, and the principal nobles of his court, were present. The whole time that we remained in the palace was something less than three hours. Our curiosity had been gratified, but our hearts were sad when we contrasted this vain and heartless magnificence with the simple dwellings, and meek and lowly manners, of the patriarchal kings of Eimeo, Huahine, and others in the islands of the west. O! that as the natural sun, in his course from Java to Tahiti, the day-spring from on high might thus visit the east from the regions of the Pacific.”

The pageantry of monarchs has been found serviceable in supporting their authority, people being more reconciled to submission to one placed at an immeasurable height above them, than to one on a level with themselves. Indeed, with the solitary exception of Dr. Francia, perhaps no monarch or dictator ever maintained his supremacy long, without the auxiliaries of pomp and splendour. In proportion, however, as nations become truly civilized and Christianized, these will, we believe, be disregarded and despised. Power emanating from the people, and not usurped over them by others, may be exercised with sufficient vigour, and retained during the period for which it was delegated, without the aid of dancing girls, bands of music, military parade, and crowds of nobility in robes and coronets. Justice, too, can be administered impartially and effectually without the aid of gowns and wigs; and though Mr. Wheaton, after viewing the English courts, expresses his conviction that such adventitious matters confer dignity and command respect, he has not shown that the absence of forensic habiliments in our courts, has, in the slightest

degree, been injurious to the public welfare. An officer of the government, in the discharge of his function, is entitled to respect but not to idolatry, the latter being always degrading to the bestower of it, and often hurtful to the receiver. When men learn never to forget self-respect, they will be cautious of conferring such distinction on others, as may tend to depreciate themselves. Accordingly, while we are amused by descriptions of ceremonies remote from our own habits, we need not shut our eyes to the evils they produce, but rather rejoice that an example of an opposite kind is exhibited in this country, and that it is likely, sooner or later, to produce imitators.

The following account of a grotto seems rather to partake of the extravagance of Sir John Mandeville, or of the fertile imagination of Southey as displayed in *Thalaba*, than of simple reality; yet the character of our authors forbids us from doubting its truth.

“While we were detained for want of post-horses, we walked out in the neighbourhood, and, among other objects of curiosity, lighted upon a Chinese grotto, constructed about twelve years ago by order of the Sultan of Choribon. This work, in various grotesque forms, extends over more than an acre and a half of ground, and is so fancifully diversified as to bewilder the senses and defy description. A person wandering among its mazes, where all is art of the most uncommon character, and utterly unlike any thing in nature, might imagine himself walking, in a dream, among such scenery and images as never were made visible to eyes of men awake. The approach indicates nothing extraordinary. The entrance is through an old door, with its jambs and cornice curiously carved. Thence, onward, is a passage two yards wide, between columns and statuary of the roughest style, yet evidently wrought by no mean hand. At the termination appears a brick gateway, on each side of which is placed a most outrageously misshapen lion of porcelain ware. From this portal we passed into a labyrinth of grottos—mounts, descents, subterranean ways, interior rooms, unexpectedly opening upon us; and all these decorated with Chinese temples, pagodas, figures of birds, beasts, fishes, and monsters, which no naturalist could classify, absolutely crowding the contracted view on every side. Several pools of water, here and there, like inlaid mirrors, reflecting the span-breadth of sky above, and the little circuit of rocks and images around, add much to the enchantment of the whole. Besides these, streams, cascades, and fountains, are carried through every part. In one of the recesses we were shown the sultan’s bedstead, superbly carved and gilded. This was so placed, that, by a singularly ingenious contrivance, a current of water was conducted all round the tester, which, at pleasure, might be made to fall, in transparent curtains of rain, completely encircling the royal couch, for the double purpose of keeping off the mosquitoes, and tempering the warm air to the delicious coolness which, in this sultry climate, is the consummation of bliss to reposing listlessness. The *Castle of Indolence* itself, voluptuously as it has been furnished by the creative imagination of the first in rank of our descriptive poets, Thomson, was here fairly outdone;—the conception of sleeping in state, surrounded, as in a tent, by the drapery of lulling, tinkling, glittering showers, of which the moisture was carried away in grooved channels, about the basement of the bedstead,—could never have entered into the mind of a minstrel born beyond the Tweed. Besides this chamber, there were other handsome apartments for the accommodation of his highness and his harem, when they repair hither to anticipate the luxuries of Mahomet’s paradise. But, if this were a paradise, there was purgatory, if not a place bearing a harder name, connected with it. Several horrid dungeons and deep pits were pointed out to us; and we passed near one fearful abyss, close by a narrow path, like that which

Bunyan describes, along the verge of Apollyon's den, in the valley of the shadow of death. Cruelty and sensuality are such blood relations, that, in eastern countries at least, they are rarely dissociated; the pleasures of palaces are heightened by the miseries suffered in prisons under their roofs, and the eyes of sultans and their concubines feasted with the spectacles of executions and tiger-fights in their court-yards. A shocking proof of this may be produced, in the current story, that the Chinese artist who contrived and executed this *Paradise of dainty devices*, this *limbo of vanity*, when the work was finished, had both his eyes put out, by order of the sultan, his employer, that he might not make another like it for either sovereign or subject."

Often have we seen it asserted, and sometimes denied, that the upas is a native of Java; the testimony of our authors is, accordingly, valuable. They say that they saw one growing in a garden, and plucked some of its leaves; that it produces no blasting effects; but that, as they were informed, a poison is extracted from the root-bark. From a memoir, however, published by the Geographical Society of London, it appears that there is a pestiferous valley in the island, fatal to both animal and vegetable life; hence may have originated the fabulous accounts of the poisonous nature of the upas.

From Java Messieurs Bennet and Tyerman took ship to China, and give much the same account of Canton as other travellers. The following, however, is a more minute notice of a Chinese dinner than we recollect to have seen elsewhere.

"In company with several gentlemen of the factory, we dined with Hoqua, an eminent Hong merchant. He lives in Chinese magnificence, and the entertainment was of the most sumptuous kind. The whole house and premises were brilliantly illuminated with lamps. The decorations of the rooms, and the style of the furniture, were splendid and curious, but absolutely undescribable, otherwise than in the general terms—that every thing was according to the perfection of Chinese taste. The dinner, which lasted nearly four hours, consisted of between thirty and forty courses, including all the luxuries of the clime and the season, served upon China table-ware of the richest patterns. To attempt a description here would be hopeless, for every thing was so thoroughly national, that to be understood would require more knowledge of the manners of this singular people than many of our countrymen possess, and certainly much more than we could have learned without seeing, hearing, and tasting for ourselves. Before each guest was placed a pair of chop-sticks and a silver spoon, with a plate resembling a saucer, and a small cup to serve for a wine-glass. The first course consisted of various sweetmeats, to which every one helped himself from the dishes which were placed down the middle of the table. Presently the wine—prepared from rice, and not unpleasant to the taste—was poured warm, from a silver vessel like a teapot, into the small cups before us. In pledging healths this cup is held between both hands; the parties then, exchanging courteous looks and bows, drink it off, and each turns the inside of the cup towards the other, to show that the whole has been fairly drunk, it being deemed a great incivility to leave any liquor at the bottom. More substantial provisions, in basins and tureens, were next set upon the table, every one choosing for himself from the nameless and bewildering diversity of soups and made dishes, composed of fish, beef, mutton, fowls, ducks, geese, quails, pigeons, pigeons' eggs, turtle, &c. &c., all in a stewed form, for the most part very palatable, and not pungently seasoned. A salt-cellar and a saucer of soy before each person, enabled him to heighten the flavour of the food to his own taste. Towards the conclusion, besides a second course of sweetmeats, basins of boiled rice, quite dry, were set before all the company with cups of tea; the tea, as usual, being prepared in each

cup, with hot water poured upon the leaves, and without either cream or sugar. The cloth was then removed, and the table covered with a profusion of the most delicious fruits. These were accompanied by Madeira wine, which was drunk, like every other beverage here, out of cups of the most delicate and exquisitely beautiful porcelain.

“The greatest rarity, however, after this feast, was the sight of a Chinese bride. The son of our host having been married a few days before, we were honoured—according to the usage of the country, during the honey-moon—with permission to look at his wife, as she stood at the door of her apartment, while we were passing out. The lady was surrounded by several old women, who held tapers and lamps above and about her, that we might have a more complete view of her figure and attire. She was a young person—perhaps seventeen years of age,—of middle stature, with very agreeable features and a light complexion, though she seemed to us to have used paint. She wore a scarlet robe, superbly trimmed with gold, which completely covered her from the shoulders to the ground. The sleeves were very full, and along the bottom ran a beautiful fringe of small bells. Her head-dress sparkled with jewels, and was most elegantly beaded with rows of pearls, encircling it like a coronet; from the front of which a brilliant angular ornament hung over her forehead and between her eyebrows. She stood in a modest and graceful attitude, having her eyes fixed on the floor, though she occasionally raised them, with a glance of timid curiosity, towards the spectators. Her hands, joined together, but folded in her robe, she lifted several times towards her face, and then lowered them very slowly. Her attendants, presuming that the guests would be gratified with that consummation of Chinese beauty, the lady’s feet, raised the hem of the mantle from hers for a moment or two. They were of the most diminutive kind, and reduced to a mere point at the toe. Her shoes, like the rest of her bridal apparel, were scarlet, embroidered with gold. In justice to the poor creature, during this torturing exhibition, as we imagine it must have been to her, her demeanour was natural and becoming; and once or twice, something like half a smile for an instant, showed that she was not entirely unconscious of the admiration which her appearance excited, nor much displeased by it.”

Arriving at Calcutta, our travellers were much struck with the extraordinary appearance of the city; but their accounts of it, and of the other places in Hindostan which they visited, appear to possess little novelty. Fakirs and yogees, brahmins and sudras, present themselves to notice as in the works of other writers; one piece of information was, however, new to us—that amongst the objects of Hindoo adoration at Benares is a living baboon! They themselves saw his godship. In another temple, in the same city, they were shown what was said to be an immortal tree. They found it to be a stump with a few live shoots; but they could not conceive the possibility of its having vegetated in such a situation. As, however, they chanced to see an old stump in another part of the building, they easily comprehended how the deception was maintained, by the substitution of a living stump, from time to time, for the decayed one. Such is the supposed sanctity of Benares, that the number of pilgrims who resort to it is so great, that about four hundred barbers obtain a livelihood by shaving the heads of these people prior to their bathing in the Jumna and the Ganges; and as the British government imposes a small sum on each, their superstition produces a revenue. This mode of taxation appears to us objectionable, and strangely

inconsistent on the part of a government which has relinquished the gain derivable from lotteries, on the ground of their immoral tendency. At one of the temples of Doorga, they witnessed the gambols of a species of animals, which, from having seen them only under confinement, we, in this country, are apt to regard with contempt if not disgust, whereas they, in common with all the other parts of creation, are worthy of admiration.

“The precincts of this temple are more lively than such places usually are, on account of the number and activity of the monkeys which frequent them, and which are said to have first flocked hither when the temple was opened—a circumstance which the superstitious builders would naturally interpret into a happy omen. There are several large and ancient trees at hand, some of which with their foliage overshadow the walls. On the branches of these, on the roof of the edifice, and on the top of the surrounding piazzas, multitudes of these impertinent animals, tame, quite at home, and conscious of their perfect impunity, are to be seen playing their tricks, up and down, here, there, and every where. Some of the elder and graver ones were lounging on the companion-places, watching the gambols of their fraternity above, but, with more interest,—from selfish but laudable motives,—the less exhilarating mummeries of those who, to them, might appear kinsfolks below—the priests and the votaries of Doorga; for many of the latter, after presenting flowers and leaves to the goddess, threw offerings more savoury and not less acceptable—sweetmeats—to the monkeys in their train. The habits of the females in nursing their cubs were very amusing, and as these chartered denizens of the sacred domain are fearlessly familiar, we might approach near enough distinctly to observe their actions. Some of them had young ones not more than a few days old; others were training up their progeny, through all the stages of adolescence, up to monkey’s estate. The dams were exceedingly vigilant and affectionate in performing their duties, and kept their little ones generally within reach of their hand, and always of their eye. While swinging about on the boughs of the trees, or scampering along the walls, if a giddy thing attempted to get too far from her, the dam darted forth her paw, caught it by the tail, or, if the tail slipped through her fingers, laid hold of a leg, and gently pulled the truant back. On any alarm or disturbance, she huddled it instantaneously to her breast, the little one seized the teat in its mouth, clasped its arms and legs round her body, and remained closely attached, while she ran up the trunk of a tree, or sought security on the extremity of a branch. Frequently the cubs mounted on their mother’s shoulders, jumped back again, frisked or lay down, at a growl, a beck, or a grin; for she seemed to rule by a set of nursery signals well understood.”

At the Convent of St. Dominic at Goa, the vicar-general hospitably entertained our travellers. He informed them, that Dr. Buchanan’s account of the Inquisition in that city was substantially correct, and designated it as “an infernal thing.” The building itself they afterwards visited, and found in ruins. The vicar-general asked them whether the edition of the Portuguese scriptures, issued by the Bible Society in London, was translated by the person whose name it bore, and being answered in the affirmative, one of the company remarked—“Purgatory itself could not speak against that translation.” They also spoke highly of the translator. It is a remarkable and melancholy fact, that not a single printing-office is established in the Portuguese territory in India;—such is the assertion of the deputation. We know indeed that the literary state of Portugal is low, but we had no

conception that her Indian territory was so destitute as this account implies.

“The inhabitants of Goa,” they say, “are a motley multitude, consisting of Portuguese, Hindoos, Mahometans, and African slaves brought from the coast of Mozambique; with half-castes of every description that can be formed out of these, and varying in complexion through every shade between European white and Negro black. Their clothing is as piebald as their breed and their colour; some going nearly naked, others half-clad, and many full-dressed in Portuguese or English costume. The Roman Catholics in India have seven bishops, and their numbers in each diocese have been computed by the Abbé Dubois as follows:—

Under the Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Goa,	-	500,000
Under the Archbishop of Crangamore,	-	200,000
Under the Bishop of Cochin,	-	30,000
Under the Bishop of St. Thomè,	-	60,000
Under the Bishop of Bombay,	-	10,000
Under the Bishop of Pondicherry,	-	36,000
Under the Bishop of Virapoli,	-	80,000
		<hr/>
		916,000

Like most other Oriental travellers, Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet relate various anecdotes of elephants, the tendency of which is to manifest, as we believe, that those quadrupeds are actuated not simply by instinct, but by reason. Perhaps, however, it will be safest, with our present knowledge, to designate them in Pope’s words as “half reasoning.” That an elephant will not submit to an injury, nor even to an affront, without taking revenge on the perpetrator, is well known; but naturalists seem not to have sufficiently considered that in making a return, he proportions the punishment to the offence;—a degree of wisdom unequalled, perhaps, by any human legislature. A tame elephant, which had the range of the premises where he was kept, went one day into a room in which a large company were seated at dinner, and walking round the table, received a biscuit from one, an apple from another, and so on, till a young man thought fit to prick his trunk with a toothpick. This the animal resented, and, leaving the room, went to an ants’ nest near by, drew up numbers of them into his proboscis, and returning, blew them into the young man’s face! Another elephant, which was shot at by a military officer, levelled the assailant with a blow, and then threw his body a considerable height in the air.

The deputation proceeded from India to Mauritius, of which island we are furnished with some lively sketches. The state of morals at St. Louis appeared to be deplorably low, though, as they were given to understand, more outward decorum has been manifested since the island came into possession of the English, than was the case before. The slaves, as is too generally obvious in all slave countries, are ignorant and corrupt, though they heard of instances amongst them, which, in a different population,

would be ascribed to magnanimity. Take the following instance as a specimen.

“M. Perille, a French planter, is distinguished for his humanity towards his slaves ; and it was mentioned, as a special proof of this, that he does not require them to work on Sundays. A short time ago, however, when the holes had been made for the young plants in a large plot of ground, and there had been a long drought, a shower happening to fall on the Sabbath, M. Perille was unable to resist the temptation to avail himself of the opportunity of setting the canes, and directed his slaves to perform the work as one of necessity, promising them a special remuneration at night. It was done ; but in the evening when he called them to receive their wages, to a man they refused to accept of any thing, saying,—‘We are your servants, and bound to do what you bid us at any time ;—besides, you use us so well that we cannot take any pay for this day’s work.’”

This M. Perille was attentive to the communication of religious instruction to his slaves ; and our travellers were gratified by witnessing their celebration of worship. Two of them repeated the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, the rest following them, and then they sang several hymns. Each, as the service ended, crossed himself. We should be glad to learn that such an example as this, had wrought its due influence amongst those of our southern brethren, who have imposed legal restraints on the religious instruction of their negroes. Perhaps few things tend more to the disparagement of our country by Europeans, than the knowledge that such a fact exists. To withhold knowledge, especially the best of knowledge—that of religion, under the plea of its leading to insubordination, is like putting out the eyes lest the hands should refuse to work.

The account of Madagascar in the Journal can scarcely fail to interest those who have read the adventures of Drury and Benyouski, especially as it is satisfactory to observe, that the natives have made some advances in civilization. The island is not now, as formerly, divided between a multitude of petty chiefs, the supreme authority being now principally in the hands of one ; a circumstance favourable to improvement, as a people, by being united, are likely to avoid many evils incident to the juxtaposition of numerous small communities without a common head. Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet reached Tananarivo, the capital, at an interesting juncture—the king dying within a few days of their arrival. Mr. Tyerman also was taken suddenly ill, and died three days after the king, an event of more interest to his surviving companion than that of the royal exit. His remains were interred in presence of the missionaries and other European residents, as well as of a considerable concourse of the natives, the obsequies being partly in English, and partly in Malagasy, as the native language is termed. The royal funeral did not take place till about a fortnight later, and was preceded by a *kabarre*, or national assembly, in which proclamation was made, that King

Radama, having died without issue, the Queen, Ranavalona Marjaka, was his successor, agreeably to his nuncupative decision. The oath of allegiance was then administered by the chief judge, the ceremony of which consisted in taking hold of a spear fixed in the carcass of a calf, and imprecating death like that of the animal, for a violation of the promise then made. In the interval of the *kabarre* and the funeral, the city wore a melancholy aspect, the people generally lamenting Radama, as the best sovereign Madagascar had known, while females, with naked heads and shoulders,—such being their mode of testifying sorrow,—were staying at the sepulchre. The missionaries being invited to take part in the solemnities, went to the Silver Palace, so named from its being ornamented from the roof to the ground with silver plates. The roof, on this occasion, was covered with scarlet broad-cloth, and in front was a temporary pavilion, the pillars of which were ornamented with coloured silks, satins, &c. Over all was a canopy of gold brocade, with stripes of blue satin and scarlet cloth, bordered with gold lace and fringe. The coffin was made of silver plates, prepared from twelve thousand dollars, and ten thousand more were put into it for the corpse to rest on! The treasures buried with the king consisted of eighty British uniforms with hats and feathers, and a golden helmet; daggers, swords, spears, and guns; watches, rings, brooches and other trinkets; a rich service of plate including a golden cup presented to him by the King of England; with silks, satins, and cloths of the most expensive fabric. A pyramidal monument, twenty feet high, was erected over the sepulchre, the whole being faced with granite, the interior cavity for the corpse being a cube of about ten feet. The total expense of the funeral was estimated by the missionaries at sixty thousand pounds sterling! So extravagant are the charges belonging to royalty! It is, however, obvious, that a people who could spare such a sum in pageantry, are not to be regarded as mere savages; and should they become converts to Christianity, may hereafter, from their geographical position, have considerable influence in Oriental politics.

Mr. Bennet, shortly after the funeral, embarked for England. He landed at St. Helena, paid a visit to the tomb of a mightier monarch, and reached his native land after an absence of eight years. On this occasion, to him so memorable, he indulges in pleasing expressions of patriotism, so true is the line of Goldsmith, speaking of man generally,

“His first, best country ever is at home.”

The volumes contain much matter to which we have been unable, within our limits, even to advert, and which are deserving the attention of those who make national character and peculi-

arities their study. Considered as a connected narrative, they are, however, rather tedious, owing to the prolixity with which the missionary operations are detailed. Of scientific information there is very little, but he who searches for particulars respecting manners, morals, and religion, will not be disappointed.

ART. II.—*An Essay upon National Character; being an inquiry into some of the principal causes which contribute to form and modify the Characters of Nations in the State of Civilization.* By the late RICHARD CHENEVIX, Esq. F. R. S. L.; and E. M. R. I. A. &c. 2 vols. London: 1832.

THIS work is an instance of the philosophic spirit and tendencies of the age, and this is the first time that it has been attempted to concentrate the ideas which float around society, upon a subject so diffusive and abstract. It is the first time, too, that such a treatise considers the real state of nations now existing, rather than that of antiquity and barbarism.

National character must always be a subject of speculation rather than of practice, since it is mainly founded upon causes beyond the control of man. The great objects of human desire are every where the same, and the only perceptible difference is in the mode of gratification. It is, nevertheless, certain, that there is a real and profound diversity between nations existing at this day, on the same apparent level of civilization. We uniformly consider as prominent, in one country, certain qualities which we utterly deny to another; and different men have different ideas as to the comparative excellence of each. In every circle of society, and even in almost every family, we perceive the predominance of certain tastes, feelings, and prejudices. As in the whole range of creation, whether animate or inanimate, we find no two objects exactly alike, however closely allied, or however certainly proceeding from the same common stock, it would be equally unphilosophical and impracticable to deny a like diversity in the developments of the human race—which admits in itself of greater variation—in which utter sameness would counteract the great ends of creation, as to the improvement for which we are fitted; and render unavailing the great and visible aptitudes, which all nature presents for peculiar and limited dispositions. And this evident difference of development is strictly compatible with such general and original uniformity, as might lead man to discover the specific uses and qualities of each portion of creation; for in his progress to perfection—such

at least as is prepared for him in this world—it is clear that entire sameness would not be a more insuperable bar, than total difference, between the portions of his own species, of brute existence, or of things. As the principle upon which he moves in amelioration is combination, and as no combination could ever be made of particulars essentially unlike, he must remain for ever in the state in which he was originally placed, if experience did not point out to him the remote and latent fitness and similarity of nature's works.

Esteeming all mankind to proceed from a common stock, and of course to possess original and general likeness, it is yet interesting to consider whence arise the specific diversities among, and the peculiar characteristics of, nations; and whether there can be any such thing as a good and better, or a bad and worse, national character. Those, who have written on this subject heretofore, appear to have thought, that in a state of wildness and barbarism only, could the nature of man be ascertained; forgetting that nothing can be more uncertain than the truth of our knowledge concerning this stage—that the savage, who to pleasures exclusively physical, adds crimes inconsistent with any but half developed reason, is no more under the influence of natural propensities, than the courtier in the most refined and complicated state of existence, and that in both, the same passions—only more fully disclosed in one than the other—are the ruling impulse. Those, who believe that in the present state of Europe, the nature of man is changed or eradicated, forget, that, from the earliest ages to the present, he has only been acting under the strongest and most undoubted of his motives, a love of improvement; and that as the productions of the earth need for their perfection, his fostering care and ministration, so, by the combinations of society, and the expansion of his intellect, he subdues and qualifies his rude ferocity, discovers and applies his latent properties, and blends both mind and heart in wonderful refinement. “If nature only is opposed to art,” says the learned Dr. Ferguson, “in what situation are the footsteps of art unknown. If the palace be unnatural, the cottage is so no less, and the highest refinements of political or moral apprehension, are not more artificial in their kind, than the first operation of sentiment or reason.”

It is not, then, by reference to human beings, in a state of nature, as it is called, that we can learn the extent of the natural powers of man. In inquiring into the savage state, we cannot learn what is good or bad, just or unjust; what tends to their happiness or misery; or what evolves their social or unsocial, their moral or intellectual qualities; but in examining the most favoured and elevated nations, we may be able to perceive traits, and ascertain rules, involving general welfare or unhappiness.

The first earthly cause of the improvement of man is his passions; for these stimulate his reason, and stir him to combine his ideas. They are in turn improved by his mental faculties, and divested of much that renders them baleful. Rousseau, in his eloquent, unreasonable, and now scarcely read *Discours Sur l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, has beautifully shown the mutual influence of head and heart, in ameliorating and refining each other. The passions are evolved by a variety of causes, acting with greater or less force. Among the principal is climate; of the influence of which we are disposed to think that the view taken by Mr. Chenevix is the most sensible.

"It is," says he, "by the wants which climate creates or satisfies, by the gratifications which it affords or refuses, by the sensations which it excites or allays, that its action upon sentient and reflecting beings is principally to be considered." Vol. i. p. 37.

The effect of climate upon man has been a subject of great dispute. No one regarding the world can fail to perceive a difference between men in the frigid and temperate zones; none deny but that excess of heat, or of cold, is equally unfavourable to great and continued exertions of mind or body; but none—unless he is disposed to believe in a special Providence for each variation of temperature—can attribute this difference to a peculiar and unalterable fitness for each. Lord Kames believed that neither temper nor talents had much dependence on climate; but he was also of an opinion—apparently inconsistent—that men were fitted for the places only in which they were born. Robertson, Ferguson, and others, attribute to it a direct and powerful influence; and Hume argued against it. Montesquieu, however, to sustain his notion of its immediate effect, experimented upon a sheep's tongue, by exposing it to extremes of heat and cold; and from his observation and arguments, finally concludes—"Comme on distingue les climats par les degrés de latitude, on peut aussi les distinguer par les degrés de sensibilité." L. 1.1. t. 2. *Esprit des Laix*. But it can scarcely be necessary to examine any of these arguments, when a position so reasonable as that which we have cited is before us—that heat and cold are each attended with consequences involving man's mental qualities, as they call them into action or depress them into torpor. The climates of the tropics, produce at once, and without need of laborious cultivation, many of the necessities, and still more of the luxuries of life. Want therefore does not spur man to exertion; neither does exertion invigorate his body or his intellect; nor labour inspire him with a love of excellence. In the frigid zone, no toil could command more than the merest necessities; and therefore a sense of its inutility, a feeling of despair, deprives him of all the advantages of ambition and of combination. But in the mean between these two extremes, where the soil does not spontane-

ously yield, nor obstinately withhold, where labour commands productions, and productions combination, and combination emulation—where the physical wants of man are not satisfied without toil, and are satiated with its consequences—where the passions, if not the keenest, are at least the deepest—and where the delay of fruition maintains the excitement of desire—there, the moral qualities, once called into operation, are modified by other circumstances of boundaries, of population, of situation, and of government, until at last a peculiar character is manifested by the inhabitants of one region, separated by a brook, or a mountain, or a river, and by no distance, from its dissimilar neighbours.

In inquiring into national character, then, climate is only worthy of consideration, as one of many causes, acting upon man's simple and fundamental qualities, and rendering more or less easy the gratification of his natural desires and passions. Fertility, extent of territory, and many others which we shall presently enumerate, are to be regarded as equally operative.

A knowledge of national character is not acquired from any knowledge of persons or of things, or of transient or particular events. "By the character of a nation is to be understood the combination of the prominent and leading features by which that nation is distinguished." It can be acquired only by inspecting the habits of a people; their public works, and modes of government; their social improvement; and the developments of their dispositions generally, through a long course of time;—none of which have necessarily any influence on the character or habits of an individual. It is the more easily perceived, because it is far more simple than personal character: for the causes which can interest a nation, or any large body of men, must be necessarily—even in the present complicated and refined state of the civilized world—very general; and few in number, though mighty in consequence. Dissimulation cannot disguise it, because the motives which animate the whole body of the people must be clear and obvious: while it is not only possible, but not of absolutely unfrequent occurrence, that an individual shall be so wrapped in deceitfulness, so shrouded in obscurity, that his real desires cannot be more known than the motives which actuate him, or the means which he employs to realize them. History, too, must present a true record of national dispositions, and in tracing the rise, progress, and fall of any people, it must unfold the characteristics which accompanied them through their existence. It must therefore be the philosophical result of historical examination.

The causes which modify the dispositions of a people in a state of nature, are the physical qualities of their situation; as a country hilly and sterile, or level and fertile; soil, atmosphere, geographical position as surrounded by land or water, enemies or

friends; a scantiness or an abundance of territory. There are others, which are perceptible in the development of national character in a state of civilization, and contribute to preserve the nation in the same traits—as government, industry, patriotism, religion, morality, social habits, intellect, &c.

In no state of existence, and assuredly not of society, can man be supposed deficient in that result of reason and conscience, called self-approbation; like all other innate faculties, more fully developed, and more strongly efficient in every step of his progress to improvement, and which, as it is the spring of all rules of conduct, in every part of life, is rightly considered by Mr. Chenevix, *as the foundation of national character.*

“Two modifications of this sentiment exist in our hearts:—the one resulting from actions, which, whatever other qualities they possess, must be intrinsically meritorious: the other from actions, which, whether of intrinsic merit or not, must attract the eyes of the world.

“Language possesses no accurate denomination to express these two modifications of self-approbation. The words which approach the nearest to the present meaning, are pride and vanity; yet their usual acceptance is so remote from it, that they cannot be applied without some previous observations.

“No sentiment which God has bestowed on man can be primarily injurious; neither is there one of which an ill use cannot be made. Pride and vanity, when in due keeping and proportion with the ends for which they were destined, are as fair and laudable feelings as any which dwell in the human heart;—nay, they are indispensable ingredients of the character, for without the one it would be deficient in dignity; without the other we should want many of the motives which draw us towards our fellow creatures, and make society a blessing. The man who has none of either would soon sink beneath his proper level; and he who has too much of them, would aspire to rise above it.

“It is with this restriction that the words pride and vanity are here to be understood. They shall be employed without any reference to praise and censure, and merely to denote any degree of self approbation which may justly arise out of any recollection. A proud man is used, in this Essay, in the sense of one who feels this just degree of pride; and a vain man for one who feels a just degree of vanity.

“From these statements it is evident, that the simple fundamental faculties upon which pride depends, are conscience, reason, and self-esteem: faculties, by which alone we can judge of the intrinsic value of moral or intellectual actions, and which alone can make man independent.

“Vanity is independent of the intrinsic merit of its cause. The powers which appreciate this, then, are not its necessary elements. But the objects which excite it, must be brilliant; it must shine in the eyes of the world;—without the approbation of the world, vanity cannot exist.

“From this it clearly follows, that we are perpetually exposed to find pride or vanity either gratified or wounded. And that it is impossible for us long to abstract ourselves from their influence. The operations which produce them are often imperceptible to our minds; and yet they proceed as surely and as constantly as any of the secretions of our body which are performed without our consciousness.” Vol. i. p. 21, &c.

Vanity, then, may depend on causes over which we have no control; but pride must be the result of our own rectitude and energy. Vanity may delight in qualities, in respect to which, neither our head nor our heart, in any sense, has any influence. But pride must be the consequence of the intellect or

the feelings. Now, it is clear, as self-approbation is so early manifested, that the "pride and vanity of nations must be governed by the same general laws, which found and modify the pride and vanity of individuals"—that vanity, as a national trait, may spring from causes of self-complacency, which do not originate in the moral or intellectual energies of the people: while pride, as a national trait, can be founded in nothing but a sentiment of difficulties surmounted, and advantages acquired. In nations, as in individuals, vanity then must be an earlier trait than pride; because the self-satisfaction of barbarians cannot be derived from any recollection of ability displayed in the avoidance of obstacles. In a fertile land and under a benignant climate, where all the senses and wants of man are gratified and supplied as if by the hand of nature; where no enemies assail him; where his territory is extensive, and his choice of place easy; where it is or may be increased by easy and rapid conquest, or by the peaceful means of aggrandizement, as negotiation, or marriage or inheritance of the ruler, and the boundaries are unsettled and indistinct, Mr. Chenevix properly considers the natives as exhibiting that modification of self-approbation, which he has styled vanity—indulged, as their condition is an object of envy or admiration—and not as it is the necessary consequence of their own toil and energy. But where, on the contrary, men labour for their daily bread, and war for the preservation of it; where the climate compels them to provide against its power or to subdue it to their will; where little is granted by the spontaneous bounty of nature; where mountains, enemies, and confinement, press them on all sides; and where the obstacles to their advancement and amelioration are insurmountable except by the union of strength and reflection; in such circumstances they display the modification called pride, inasmuch as they draw from themselves, and employ for themselves, without regard to the applause and wonder of others, the resources upon which they found their improvement.

Now, though this, as it seems like systematizing, may not meet with much respect—from those to whom system is an objection—yet the consideration of the development and reaction of these, as national qualities, cannot fail to be both instructive and interesting. As they are followed out, it will be seen, that in every disposition which we may have, particularly in this country, where, with adult intellect, we strive in the occupations of national infancy, to adopt the social habits or improvements, the modes of government or of action, of older people—we should carefully attend to the different consequences which attend upon national pride or vanity: for it is certain that wherever the moral or intellectual powers of man have been most fully developed and improved, his virtues unfolded, his individual exertions

rewarded, and his happiness and rights best secured ; wherever his confidence in his fellow man has been increased and justified, his religion purified, his social improvement furthered, his intellect expanded, and his submission to government rendered a blessing, pride and not vanity has been the characteristic of the nation : and this, as a necessary consequence of the unsatisfied industry, of the continued combination, which a nation must be compelled to adopt at first, and which when properly directed, it is impossible it should afterwards abandon.

The first condition of man was well suited to his weak power, and encouraged his vanity. Every exertion, which his natural progress compelled him to make, was so much towards the development of pride : but it is not until we find him displaying his intellect and industry in Europe, that we are able to distinguish material variations in national destinies. The Greeks—as compared with succeeding times, the vainest and most luxurious of nations—were nevertheless the first people who subdued any of the asperities of nature. The forests, which covered their territory, were to be removed, to supply them with sustenance ; and to this, the first instance of severe and habitual labour for any length of time in the history of man, (so far at least as he was not under the immediate direction of heaven,) is to be attributed the first honour which combined intellect received. Nor was this impulse ever lost. But their mental ability was modified by the very causes which gave it birth ; as the removal of the woods destroyed the only obstacle to the genial influence of the sun, and the voluntary fertility of their soil. Combination and labour were then no longer necessary ; the tendencies of the Grecians were always afterwards to enjoyment rather than to invention, to the productions of fancy rather than to the patient labour of thought ; and vanity, with its train of vices and pleasures, ruled them to the latest hour of their existence.

Compared with all preceding nations, the Romans were proud. They were subjected to all the primary causes of this quality ; and it is perceptible in all their institutions, whether public or conventional. They were surrounded by enemies in their first possession, and fought their way to the conquest of the soil ; they were in a climate far more delightful now than then, as might be presumed from natural history, if it were not made known by their poets and annalists ; the sea was their boundary ; their soil required great cultivation, as is clear from the respect in which agriculture was held—the most popular occupation of their greatest men—and also, from the number and reputation of their greatest works. Their territory was limited, and they were, what no vain nation ever was—a nation of warriors—through a long series of ages making their way steadily and unchangeably to universal dominion. Had this energy been applied, as in

later ages it has been, as in this nation we trust it may be, to secure their rational liberty, to promote the industrious and commercial intercourse of distant people, and thus to advance human nature itself; little but imitation would have been the labour of those who followed, or they must have shown how illimitable is the expansion of the human mind. But the pride of Rome ceased with the certainty of conquest, and the negativeness of Italy betrays vanity and luxury.

Of all the countries of Europe, Spain is perhaps the most blessed with natural advantages. In none are there such easy means of national prosperity; in none, therefore, should there be a larger share of luxury and vanity. But the pride which for so many ages distinguished them, and the influence of which, in the good faith, morality, and patriotism of the nation, is still manifest, may be attributed to the fact, that, for nearly twenty centuries, from the first landing of the Carthaginians to the final expulsion of the Moors, Spain was scarcely ever in the undivided and unmolested possession of the Spaniards. The constant internal wars, in which with such heroic firmness and fidelity they persevered; the sentiments of grandeur which their repeated and finally successful efforts to be the masters of their own territory inspired, and the reverses, happily never desperate, which they underwent; as they filled their minds with recollections of what they had done, and with reflections upon what was yet to be effected; as they made them sensible of the necessity of combination, and the value of man to man; and as they made their duties to be of constant observance, have imparted to them a pride, not indeed, in comparison with that of other nations, of the most intellectual character, nor of the most diffusive consequences, but yet of magnanimity, of honesty, and of unyielding courage, whenever the independence or institutions of their country have been assailed.

Like the Spaniards, the French are blessed with many natural advantages; and unlike them, have been freed from the necessity of combating, age after age, the invaders of their territory. They are unaffected, therefore, by any recollections which may tend to imbue their self-complacency with the recollection of useful exertions in a noble cause. Their territory has been acquired without any serious or long continued exertion;—some of it by the marriages of its rulers, as Brittany and Normandy. The institutions of the country all tend to display, to luxury, and to vanity.

“The uses, to which the greatness of France has been applied, are perfectly analogous to the facility with which it was acquired. Her easy acquisition of power has made her prodigal of it; and more inclined to glory than justice. Success has increased her natural vanity; and the characteristics of this sentiment are most unequivocally expressed in the gaiety and levity of its natives; in their politeness often charged with being intrusive; in their thoughtlessness, and their

passion for splendid enjoyments; in their fickleness and indifference to great national concerns; in the constancy with which they follow pleasure; and in the preference which they too often allow to the point of honour over more sacred obligations.

"Of the remaining parts of Europe few are placed in a situation to give rise to vanity; accordingly, they are inhabited by men in whose characters pride has a larger share. The leading feature in German character is pride; and it predominates more toward the north, and in the cold and mountainous regions, than in the south and level country. The Swiss are proud, because, though situated in a lower latitude than Champagne or Burgundy, they pay a heavier tax of labour to nature than any of the inhabitants of France. The Hungarians indeed are vain, because they enjoy great natural privileges of soil and climate. But the Belgians, placed in a soil which, though fertile, yet requires their constant care, and living under a less genial sky, are less vain than the French, but less proud than the Dutch. The Dutch had every difficulty to contend with, and were obliged to rescue their territory from the elements as the Romans had conquered theirs from its prior possessors. Nothing can ever relieve them from the perpetual constraint of watching over its preservation, against an enemy that knows no repose. The Swedes and Danes are proud."—Vol. i. p. 51.

The vanity of Russia Mr. Chenevix attributes to their Asiatic and barbarous origin and connexions; from the influence of which their European relations have not yet relieved them.

Of all the nations, however, which have ever flourished, England, as the most civilized, is also the proudest, being the most affected by those causes which engender pride—the least favoured by those which minister to vanity. Her climate does not dispose to indolent repose; the dulness of the sky invites to reflection, and is more congenial to the seriousness and apparent melancholy of pride than to the levity of the opposite sentiment. There the toil, to procure the average quantity of subsistence, must be greater than in more favoured spots; the consideration and combination of men and of thoughts more necessary; and its productions are ever but little more than the necessaries of life. Their possessions in their immediate neighbourhood, though far from insignificant, either in themselves or in the recollections of their acquisition, are unimportant when compared with the hard won dominions in all quarters of the earth; and the remembrance that the "pigmy arm" of England has subjugated nearly one half of the civilized world, in defiance of the power and opposition of nations far more potent than herself, as it inspires wonder in the inhabitant of other lands, could scarcely fail to awaken pride in those of her own.

"The characteristics of the pride of the English are their gravity and reserve, which are often mistaken for melancholy; their habitual reflection, free from outward show; the value which they set upon domestic happiness, upon solid comforts, upon independence; the steadiness of their serious affections; nay, the extravagance and variableness of their whims, the general respect in which religion, morality, and virtue are held, and the little deference paid to the applause of man when not in unison with the approbation of conscience and reason."—p. 55.

"From what precedes, it appears, that the modification of self-approbation which has prevailed the longest, and among the largest portion of mankind, is vanity. The country in which it may be seen in its fullest extent is Southern

Asia. Its reign there is undisputed ; as it is in Syria, Arabia, Persia, Hindostan, and even in colder regions ; as among the Tartars, eastern and western, from the borders of the Caspian sea to the sea of Ochotzk ; and the gulph of Corea, where it is rather modified, by the addition of physical activity, than checked by the diminution of natural advantages. In Europe it first assumed a moral character, and became the stimulant of intellectual energies. In the north of this continent, self-approbation, founded first on the removal of greater physical difficulties, and latterly upon higher acquirements of intellect, became modified into pride. And this sentiment received its fullest development in the nation whose efforts have been the most severe and constant, and whose actual success the most surpasses its original capacity of attaining it.

"That vanity was the earliest modification of self-approbation developed in human beings, perfectly harmonizes with the wise designs of Providence ; for it was indispensable to their preservation and welfare, that no obstacles should be presented to their establishment and progress, but such as might be easily surmounted. The most fertile spot in the globe—that in which, with the least labour, they could procure what was necessary—was their cradle, in order to attach them to existence by uninterrupted enjoyment. Their inexperience and their weakness, which long made them require the superintendence of an all-wise Creator, were opposed to every feeling of pride. As in the infancy of individuals, so in the infancy of the species, their helplessness, which made men dependent upon a mightier being, allowed no sentiment but vanity to be awakened. But as they grew to strength and manhood, as they were left to themselves, as they met with difficulties in their path through life, their pride began to expand with their independence. And this is the feeling which suits the maturity of man and his race. Should no impediment be placed in his career, should he persevere in his endeavours to become wiser and better, should he build his happiness upon securer grounds, and attach his greatness to the distribution of good, his glory to the promotion of virtue, his enjoyments to the well-being of his fellow creatures ;—should the sacred perception of morality be still more widely diffused, and the lowest of mankind be admitted into the sanctuary of knowledge, which once seemed to be set apart for the great, this sentiment will still increase. As more solid advantages are secured, and nobler blessings elevate the mind, as men become creatures of a higher value, they will learn to form a grander estimation of themselves, and attaching dignity to the things which they attain by their moral and intellectual faculties, will continue to become proud in proportion as they become enlightened."—Vol. i. p. 58, &c.

Such is Mr. C's development of his view of the trait, which, as it is first in individual, must be first in national existence.

These modifications of self-approbation are still to be attached to nations with this qualification—that in every nation, far advanced in improvement—vanity, and its category of qualities, as imagination, luxury, conventional morality, elegance rather than solidity, the agreeable, rather than the useful, industry, the pleasures of fanciful, rather than the strength of reflecting, intellect, will always be developed and desired among the higher, more opulent, and more idle classes. The national character is to be discovered in the mass of the community ; for it is in their pursuits, and their interests, that it is principally developed, as it is upon them that the circumstances of the country chiefly operate. But in vain countries, the aristocracy, or what may bear that name, and only that, directs the mind and labours of all in an inferior station.

Now, in forming an estimate of national character, and of its

comparative value, we are, of course, to rely on the facts which history presents; but it seems proper to inquire whether there is any standard, by relation to which one nation must be placed higher, and another lower in the scale. What marks national improvement? is it displayed in the works of individuals, or of the nation? does it consist in wealth and luxury, or innocence and simplicity—in the modes of religion or of government, the prevalence of morality, the dissemination of intellect, or the improvement of science?

Optimism and perfectibility are two words, which, in their time, have done much harm to certain brains, by engendering bright dreams and fantastic visions. Each has been made the basis of many unintelligible schemes of philosophy; and the last engaged the attention of Madame de Stael in her "*Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les Institutions sociales*." She has esteemed the world to be susceptible of perfection, and has imagined that in the universal diffusion of mind, and complete subjugation of the passions, human nature may be so far ameliorated as to be subject to none but divine impulses;—refined to that degree of sensitiveness and acuteness of discrimination, by which man may be rendered in truth but a little lower than the angels. But it is a striking objection to this theory of perfectibility, as applied to denote an universal improvement of man, that it is founded upon wonderfully limited grounds. In Greece, and in some parts of Africa, as Carthage and Egypt, man has been retrograde for many centuries. In China, in Asia generally, in most parts of Africa and in some of Europe, he has been always, or so far as we have any knowledge, stationary—and it is only in some half dozen nations of the last named, and in a very small portion of this, hemisphere, that he can be regarded as advancing. If his improvability to a state of perfection in this world, then, be stated as an incessant and uncontrollable operation, it is contradicted by fact; for, from the same period, and with means generally uniform, he has attained different degrees of excellence, and has receded at one time from the high grade occupied at another. In any other enunciation, the proposition is unintelligible and inconsequential.

But, nevertheless, human life in favoured nations is in a much better condition in the present, than in past, ages. Man's intellect is more fully stored, and his passions are better regulated. His actual enjoyments are increased in number and in degree. In the bonds of civilized life, in virtue and in religion, in business and in pleasure, in the social affections, and in the ascertained equipoise of all parts of society, his happiness is more secured, and himself more valued. That all nations are not equal in improvement; that in some, human beings are little else than brutes, in others, slaves; somewhere scarcely raised to any en-

joyment, and elsewhere apparently incapable of knowledge or courage; only proves that in some, people are in a higher state of happiness than in others; and the comparison once begun, may be continued, even among those, who, to common and ignorant observers, appear to be on a level, as to wealth, intellect, and civilization.

In every estimate of man, the mind is more worthy than the heart, the intellect than the senses; it is only by the predominance of the first, that we have any security for our virtues and improvement.—Though, as has been said already, the passions instigate, yet it is the mind which performs; and the passions preponderant in a nation, as in an individual, lead to the same certain results—misery, confusion, and ruin. It is, undoubtedly, too, by the indirect influence of our intellect, that all the qualities of our hearts are brought to light and refined; that our duties become complicated and yet clear, and that, as it were, new dispositions are given to practise new virtues. As we pray advice of our superiors in judgment, how we shall realize our desires, and in what mode we shall avoid or surmount difficulties—thus submitting our passions and feelings to the dictate of reason for the attainment of rectitude;—so it is only by consulting the wisdom developed in past times, and adding to it the results of our own judgment, reflection, and discrimination, that any body of people can hope to ensure its general welfare. That nation, therefore, where mind predominates, where the ardour of desire does not amount to reckless passion, where life is made rather a series of high deeds, and lofty aims, than the scene of perishable pastimes, and unavailing pleasures; where intellect, in any class, may attain the pinnacle of power in defiance of the influence of birth, or wealth, or fashion, is entitled to be ranked as most and best improved. Nor can vanity ever be the trait of such a people.—But this employment of life may be the lot of a few, or of many. The fame of a nation is sometimes spread abroad by its brilliant achievements, its apt ingenuity, its pleasant literature, its luxurious industry—these can be but the work of a few men in particular times, and for certain classes or objects. Sometimes it is dispensed by the slow but certain wealth that its continued labour acquires, by the sternness of its philosophy, the dissemination of its knowledge, or the repetitions of its success. This must be the work of many, acting under a uniform sentiment, and like the parts of an army, disciplined to succeed; aware of the value of combination for the well-being of each, the *vis unita*—*fortior*. But the glory of the first, dependant as it is on particular individuals or tastes, can never be the just attribute of the people. In the second, all spring from the nation—it is combination—and combination cannot exist without something like equality of mind. It would seem, then, that something like

an approach to intellectual equality—not (though there are some who would not be displeased at it,) as it depresses the elevated, but as it raises the low—involves the greatest improvement of man, and ensures national superiority.

This, however, has been denied. It has been contended, that, in this general level of mind, there is the less opportunity for the display of originality; that the sameness of instruction gives to all minds the same mould, deprives each of its peculiarities, and destroys every thing like individuality of character. If this were true, it would be lamentable; because, as may be perceived in almost every community, without the influence of some great and leading minds, above the usual rate of excellence, the world would be very apt to retrograde:—and this, not only because of the direction which such an intellect gives to the purposes and ability of those who surround it, but also because of the emulation which its fame and influence inspire. But to us it appears, that nothing can be more ideal or fanciful, than such an apprehension. It seems unjust and captious to argue that the present state of France, of England, and of the United States, where knowledge is presented at every turn, and where the divisions of intellectual, are almost as numerous and as well defined as those of physical, labour, is incompatible with, or at least, unfriendly to any great development of mind. That originality may be less frequent now, than formerly—that is, that there are fewer instances of individuals engaged at once, each one in all kinds of scientific pursuits, suddenly stumbling upon what he did or did not seek, and then illuminating and astounding an ignorant and unreflecting world with the display of his discovery—is possible. But this is not originality nor genius, in a philosophical sense. It is a wild and vulgar notion of genius to suppose that it suddenly invents what did not before exist, or that it discovers consequences by the force of qualities entirely peculiar and original. It is, on the contrary, the constant pursuit of a train in which none have persevered, and the perception of the consequences of rules extended beyond their ordinary and trite application. Men of genius do not possess qualities essentially different from those of less distinguished mortals. It is by their habits of mind, in the application of what all men possess in common with themselves, that they become famous. That which is peculiarly objected as hostile to the display of originality—the great division of intellectual pursuits—is, in truth, (unless Lord Verulam and Mr. Stewart greatly erred,) the strongest incentive to genius, as it involves method. The diffusion of knowledge, then, as it presents to different minds objects of contemplation, to be viewed in the peculiar mode of each, would rather tend to foster genius, when taken in this, its only sensible, meaning.

Genius, however, shares the fate of all mortal gifts, and as it

becomes common, loses its peculiar charm. After man has reached a certain point in mental labour, his progress becomes more slow, and is marked by fewer great and hasty leaps. The great discoveries which were made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, pushed him forward with a rapidity inconceivable at this day. But rude and unfit as must have been the first specimens of powder and printing, it is only gradually, and scarcely perceptibly, that each has acquired its present excellence. When Bolton presented a model of his steam engine to George III., he said that he showed him "a new creation of power." Yet what idea had he of the uses to which its increase and diffusion would lead the intellect and industry of other men to apply it? No one of the improvers of any of these inventions or discoveries—not even Fulton himself—a man of true genius, a man who used his powers with the wisest energy, who perceived by the force of his reflections, consequences of which no glimmer occurred to men of less penetration and combination—has received the full degree of admiration which his mental ability deserved. The least of these improvements marks a certain degree of originality. But the very silence which attends so much improvement, though it may sometimes darken the reflections of the student with the shades of querulousness and misery, yet betokens the diffusion of knowledge, as we cease to be struck with wonder at what are almost daily productions. Within the last year, Mr. Herschel's Discourse upon Natural Philosophy has been read and understood by myriads of people, to whom, in the same condition of life, fifty years ago, it would have been a sealed book; and to the information thus disseminated, may, perhaps, in future times, be traced an amelioration of man's state, of which at the present day we can form no idea.

This diffusion of knowledge is not to be considered as benefiting man in one or two particulars. It can scarcely be the lot of a people to be generally informed on one or two subjects only; though, certainly, one may at one time be more popular, and therefore more examined, than another—as, forty years ago, the social compact was the rage, and now physics have the ascendancy. The impetus which the mind receives in one department, is exhibited in another; and, finally, the whole attain that degree which marked the learned but a little time before. But they do not for that approach them. On the contrary, perhaps, so illimitable is the mind, so disproportioned is the ability of the half-informed to that of the well-instructed, that there is a greater distance between the two classes than before. So far, then, from regarding the greatness or influence of mind as diminished by its dissemination, it ought to be considered as infinitely increased. There is established a communion of intellect and of pursuit between the most gifted and the most ordinary por-

tions of the community. And thus we must place the nation which owes its greatness to the energy and intellectual ability of the people, above that in which intellect and energy are developed only by individuals.

Now the fame of Greece and France rests entirely upon the great men whom either has produced, and not at all upon the mass of the people. All that either ever effected, was under the especial guidance of its leaders. And as they were generally far above their countrymen, their disappearance was uniformly followed by darkness and ineptitude. As the Greeks were a vain and luxurious people, so was their philosophy all imagination—entirely fruitless and inoperative upon the mass. Even Stoicism among them was equally fanciful and inconsequential. Philosophy was confined to the sects, and, whether good or bad, does not appear ever to have been adopted, or meant for practice. De Pauw says that the indecency of the bar and senate was such, that “*cette douce amenité, la fille du bon genie, et la compagne des bonnes mœurs,*” was obliged to take refuge in the gardens of the philosophers;—a pretty strong proof, equally, that the people were immoral, and were not in love with the associations of philosophers. We hear of no instances of that sublime devotedness to good, in the walks of common life, which indicates an universal aptitude to philosophic endurance and endeavour. They put to death Socrates, their wisest—and if wisdom be really practical and meant for men, rather than rhetorical, vague, and abstract—their only wise man. As a nation, therefore, they did not love the wisdom of morality. Aristotle came from the colder and prouder regions of Thrace, and with a national spirit, soon rejected the fantasies and incomprehensibilities of Plato. He also was condemned to death, and managed to escape from Athens, with the denunciation, for such it was, that “the Athenians would always be Athenians;”—they did not desire then the wisdom of science. Their eloquence was fitted for an imaginative and excitable, not a brave or reflecting people; their historians appear insensible to any difference between virtue and vice; relating the most atrocious outrages upon honesty and morality, with a coolness and insensibility, equally different from the Roman habits, and inconsistent with a prevailing sense of propriety. In morals and in the moral elegancies of life, they were inferior to any distinguished people. “*La foi conjugale y etait la plus faible des nœuds et la plus fragile des chaines;*” so says one of their admirers. In all Greece nothing was more uncertain than paternity; and though the Lacedæmonians shut up their queens, yet two kings declared that they were not the parents of their wives’ offspring. Connubial society was then not unlike its present condition in the south of Europe—for the first error of a wife was pardoned as an excess of passion, and the others unnoticed. Their courtezans

were the most admired of their women, and to them bent illustrious rulers, generals, orators, and philosophers, not only without the disgrace, but without the ridicule that would attach to them at this day. Husbands led their wives to the school of courtezans founded by Aspasia, that they might learn the art of pleasing;—and the same people presented to her a sceptre, and a cup of hemlock to Socrates. Husband, mother, slave, and child, all engaged in domestic quarrels; and the sophist Gorgias, exhorting the Athenians to make peace with the neighbouring states, was answered by taunts, insinuating his impotence to preserve domestic quiet. Both sexes are represented as continually inebriated; and Thucydides says that the Greeks were such habitual liars, that the truth was only spoken to deceive.

If we consider them in reference to religion, to government, to patriotism, to industry, or to social improvement, we find nothing to set a value on their national character—the most volatile and atheistical, the most unjust and luxurious, the most selfish and most slavish, the most idle and fanciful nation which ancient times present, with any authority of history. Never did any annals exhibit a greater want of patriotism, or more insensibility to public virtue. Here only do we find instances of armies bribed to lose a battle. In their eternal jealousy of each other, there was neither wisdom, nor pride, nor plan; and never is the accidental ascendancy, which a great man might gain for his native state, maintained by his coevals. Divided into factions, not into parties, as now understood; a preference for men, as they beguiled the passions and prejudices of a mob, not for principles, as they contained national power and greatness—flying from their homes, as an enemy seized their territory; for their love of country was not love for the scene of virtues and happiness, but for the place of meretricious charms, of luxury and pleasure—their gods ridiculed and defied; and yet all human virtue, public and private, considered to flow from their immediate inspiration, as if they could not imagine virtue to be of human conception;—their most celebrated comedian ridiculing wisdom and virtue;—Philip thundering at their gates, and they bent on scenic amusement;—their mountains covered with vines, and their fertile valleys uncultivated;—and they, by an imperfect marine, tributary to other nations for their food and raiment. From the plains of Marathon, or the straits of Thermopylæ, we only learn what despair and rage can effect against indolence and effeminacy—in the rigidity of Sparta, we only see the perversion of nature, followed by crimes, anarchy, and slavery—and from a nation in which vanity and its train of pleasures and vices were the pursuits of the people—we look in vain for one single national trait that now remains to exalt and dignify mankind. All these traits, and they are such as even their French

admirers acknowledge, and scarcely disapprove, show that there was no tendency to equality of intellect or knowledge throughout the people; upon which alone national character can be admired. That their market women could correct the pronunciation of their orators, only proves, that the people thought on insignificant and arbitrary proprieties; as the *connaissance* of a Neapolitan mob, of this day, in music, or of the French, in what they call taste and etiquette, marks the idleness of their minds. There was no combination, no reflection, no discipline; for never was any but an ignorant and fanciful mob led from plan to plan, by the unsubstantial, and sometimes destructive, fire of dishonest eloquence. Their religion itself was the source and scene of luxury and display; and six centuries after Grecian glory had passed away, St. Chrysostom declaimed against the sumptuousness with which they assisted at religious ceremonies. Pericles had indignantly cried out, "You Athenians love nothing but your gardens, and the works of art and ostentation which you have placed there."

As time advances, we find the Romans rising upon the ruins of the Greeks. Their influence we retain and acknowledge; and in their language we find that stern wisdom which now invigorates so large a portion of the globe. Their laws, founded upon the real feelings, habits, and sentiments of the people, are still the fountain of legal intellect, and contain the soundest practical morality that has yet been systematized. Philosophy first employed their mind—borrowed indeed from the Greek—for as has been said, little will be invented when borrowing will serve the purpose; but, for a long course of time, they neither borrowed nor displayed any trait of vanity; nor could any thing be more unlike another, than philosophy among the Greeks, and among the Romans. Sound views of government, strict honesty, a love of truth, and a respect for oaths, which modern nations might imitate;—a preference for the useful, over the agreeable, intellect;—faithful delineations of man as he is, and accurate perceptions of what he ought to be;—an abhorrence of that sophistry, so much admired in Greece, and of that inconsequential fancy, which luxurious indolence only can enjoy;—Cynicism, Epicurism, and the other vague systems of Scholiasts found but little favour among them; and Stoicism—of all, the only one which pride could adopt, or, perhaps, mistaken intellect uphold—shed its even and solitary light upon their national character; Madame de Stael describes it: "*Leur vertue dominante—le caractère distinctif de ses citoyens—c'était la puissance de l'ame sur elle même; et telle était l'importance qu'un Romain mettait à l'exercice d'un empire absolu sur tout son être, que seul avec lui même, le Stoicien s'avouait à peine les affections qu'il lui était ordonné de surmonter.*" Unlike the Greeks, their women were highly honour-

ed; a trait never to be certainly found but in company with pride. Their feelings were tender, as is clear from their lives, and from much of their poetry; but pride condemned the public and unrestrained exhibition of them. Of their fortitude, their fear of disgrace, their devotion to the common weal, it would be idle to cite instances, from among the crowd of names that arise at once in the memory. Not to speak of the moral and conscientious honesty of Brutus, the judge of his own children, what instance in Grecian annals could parallel the heroism of Virginius—a common centurion, acting spontaneously, under the influence or for the egotistical display of no system of philosophy; but by the stern impulse of general and national virtue, as realized in his person. Even Cicero, vain as an individual, exhibits the influence of the pride and intellect of his country. Where does history teem with more indignant abuse of vice and vicious men? What people but such as honoured morality could exhibit such a system of law? In religion and its offices they were as pure as any pagans. But their industry belonged especially to a proud and laborious nation; how much it proceeded from the good sense, and how much it was directed to improve the condition of the people; how little productive of luxury, and how much of solid benefit; their remains, in every country which they civilized, still exist to prove. Never have any people been more uniformly victorious; nor does there appear in any nation which preceded them, any thing like the settled plan, the unchangeable determination, to conquer and to employ, which they exhibited; their decency of sentiment and language, their gravity of demeanour, their abhorrence of every thing that tended to lower the Roman name, are all proofs of pride amounting to a virtue; and their poetry alone, of all antiquity, can be said to exhibit the philosophy of passion. “In Rome,” says Mr. Chenevix most truly, “every man acted according to philosophy, though none professed to do so. In Greece, learning and philosophy had many teachers, but there was no philosophy among the people, and speculation was preferred to practice.” All the traits of the Roman character mark an intellect existing throughout the people, a sense to which the wisest leader might safely trust, and which the most artful could not deceive.

We have given this general view of the two great nations of antiquity, to exhibit the difference of the categorical qualities of pride and vanity; as the first indicates the existence of intellect and of virtue, predominant throughout the nation, the second the influence of pleasure and fancy.

The social improvement of nations is modified into luxury and civilization; the first being the concomitant of vanity, and the second of pride. The distinction between these two terms is neither unmeaning nor arbitrary; for civilization, as derived

from our moral and intellectual powers, discovered in the mastery of physical objects, is directed to bind together the race of man in social intercourse, and give the greater efficiency to the compact; but luxury, depending on a sensibility to external impressions, though it may elevate us above our original condition, is restricted by the limits of our physical capacities, while the boundaries of the other are, of course, as expansive as mind itself. France is an example of luxury. Always freed from any strong necessity to labour, and therefore deprived of the full advantages of combination, her social intercourse has been at all times more a matter of corporal and fanciful enjoyment, than of mental occupation. Though infinitely more advanced, three or four hundred years past, than the Germans or English, in refinement and pleasure, she has since been far outstripped in developing the mind, and solidly ameliorating the condition of man. Not only has she not made any advancement in the social compact, or in ethical philosophy—two sciences, the just development and comprehension of which are really the foundation of all social improvement—but by her wild and ready adoption of vain and fanciful schemes, she has done much to retard the rest of the world. In her society, the wit is more valued for his pleasantries than the philosopher for his wisdom; and honour is rendered to those who amuse the circle of sprightly and inconsequential *insouciance*, rather than to him who ameliorates and dignifies the community. There every act and thought are proper as they are in accordance with conventional rules; and conventionality is only adopted where vanity and selfishness are otherwise ungovernable impulses. But as a luxurious nation, it still exhibits more than any other of the same class, a tendency to civilization.

England, on the contrary, though from her immense wealth she indulges in many of the luxuries of life, still, as a nation, exhibits the qualities and advantages of civilization. The rights of man, in a political sense, have there been always best understood, most firmly asserted, and most wisely realized. Her social improvement includes every class. There arose, in its full strength, that power which draws near to each other, in commercial intercourse, all the quarters of the earth; and there is the fountain of that liberty which we so eagerly worship in this country. It has not been left to her rulers to perform acts of charity of their own mere grace and motion; nor have the people considered it to be their honour, that their monarchs have occasionally discovered their sympathy with the rest of mankind. Their poor are not outcasts from the law, nor from the soil. Their rich do not owe their wealth to the bounties of kings. On all sides is exhibited a confidence in the intellect of the people; and an adaptation of law and of policy to their confirmed and reasonable

habits. It is not their cities which contain the nation, as marking that those only are to be valued and regarded who can dwell in the abode of splendour and delight.

The diversities of pride and vanity are also discoverable in the influence, and in the forms and modes of religion. As a proud man is generally more moral and more regardful of the rights of others than a vain one, so is he more disposed to acknowledge his unworthiness, and to pray for counsel and strength from the Author of all wisdom and Parent of all good. His religion is pious, as it exhibits "a deep and constant sentiment of obligation and duty, an uninterrupted feeling of thankfulness to the Creator, a desire to stand in his presence unostentatiously, and to praise him in silence and secrecy." And the religion of vanity is termed imaginative, as it is characterized by "a wilder enthusiasm, and more pompous ceremonies, shows, and pageantry; more fanaticism, less reason; an extravagant longing after far-fetched rites; neglect of evident duties for useless trials, and an abnegation and intolerance of every other belief."—pp. 88, 89. vol. i. But much as we would like to follow the author through his delineation of the diversities which such modifications produce, we prefer to proceed to a subject of which the consequences are more practical.

That the moral sense is innate, that the feeling of right and wrong, in respect to others, is natural to man, independently of all religion and of all revelation, can scarcely be questioned, except for the sake of controversy. That it has existed, in different degrees of development, in all countries, and in all ages of the world, is indisputable:—otherwise, until the Christian era, there could have been no difference between right and wrong: and that it is more fully manifested, as man approaches to perfection, is equally undeniable, inasmuch as his experience and reflection discover new complications of motive and refinements of duty. But as morality differs in different ages, so it is differently defined in different countries;—like liberty, which can be scarcely recognised as the same, and yet for which each struggled so much, in Rome, in France, and in these United States; but like it too, inasmuch as it has general traits which are absolutely necessary to its apprehension. It is contended that there must have been a time, in all countries, when the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was not only a dictate of nature, but absolutely indispensable to the habitation of the world. There could then be no developed rule of morality, in this respect;—but when marriage,—which is the child, and not the parent, of society,—became an institution, respect for its sanctity became a moral duty; and as we find that such a union does exist among all people who have at all emerged from barbarism, we must suppose that the morality on which it de-

pend, is latent in the heart of man, until called forth by his advancement in improvement. In respect to all other relations of domestic life and of society, the same improvement is discernible; and our Redeemer's injunction to love all men as ourselves, was but the divine recognition of the principles which nature had infused, and time discovered, in our hearts. The existence of morality, as independent of religion, was one of the most vexatious contests between the Romish church and the reformers;—a contest, in which the former departed, according to Dr. Cudworth, from the tenets of her fathers, and in which Melancthon declared—“*Neque ille ipse cœlestis Pater, plures a nobis, fieri eas leges voluit, quas in saxo scripsit, quam quas in ipsos animorum nostrorum sensus impresserat.*” So long, however, as morality depended only on the will or establishments of man, so long it was necessarily vague and conventional. The religion, under which social improvement has made the greatest advancement, involved a sure and unquestionable law, as to all the duties which it requires from its followers; and as the morality which it enjoins and embodies is practised or neglected, so is a Christian nation entitled to be ranked. As the highest developments of morality are accompanied by, and in truth require, the highest development of intellect, it would be unjust to compare infidel and half-civilized countries, with those, where a standard is visibly ascertained, and the powers of the mind most fully exercised. Morality, or the duty of man to his neighbour, consists in a regard for all rights, whether supposed to be natural, or evidently of human origin;—for the sanctity of marriage, for family relations, for debt, for truth, for kindness, tenderness, and compassion, particularly to the poor and distressed, and for the impulses of charity, in its widest sense.

National morality is either absolute or conventional; the first betokening the predominance of pride, as exact in all duties; the second exhibiting the influence of vanity, as it prefers its gratification to its obligations. It must be always a matter of some difficulty, to estimate the degree of national morality; for it consists in a multiplicity of details, it is liable to be considered as mere custom, and the want of it may be excused in favour of other traits of character, as honour, generosity, &c. But the most moral nation must always be that in which man is most valued.

Morality may be estimated in some degree by the number and qualities of crime; and a more conclusive test than either, must be the sensibility which the community manifests at its commission; since the louder the outcry, the deeper the abhorrence, and the more singular the offence. As a national trait it is more to be sought among the middling than any other classes. History must exhibit its prevalence. A tendency to riots and massacres, to popular ebullitions, and to change the establishments of the

nation, marks a want of morality; as in these, the innocent suffer, and the guilty suffer illegally. The dispositions of England and of France, in this respect, sufficiently exhibit the results of the different modifications of each.

To contend that the severity of the laws in England is a token of national cruelty, (which is of course a breach of morality,) is just as sensible as to assert that the frequency of theatrical murders is a proof of a love of blood;—the least reflection, on the contrary, shows it to be a natural result of the general abhorrence of crime. When an offence is declared to be capital, it is to be supposed that the national feelings are consulted—not as they anticipate the execution, but as they are disgusted with the action. The sense of the offence must always be in proportion to its frequency, and to the degree of virtue prevalent in the community. If afterwards, such enactments are suffered to become dead letters, it is because the crime disappears, or because the increase of temptation, as it multiplies the offences, diminishes the abhorrence; but this evil, as it is particular, is counterbalanced by general improvement, and the discovery of other duties; so that the ratio between virtue and vice is more than preserved. The punishment of death, which formerly awaited larceny, is now generally commuted or dispensed with; but, far from regarding this leniency as a token of national immorality, it should be considered only as a token of the increase of wealth. For this increase demands an augmented respect for the rights of property generally; for political and municipal establishments, and for the law—all of them the dictates of morality. These advantages clearly counterbalance the frequency of petty thefts, which are confined to blasted characters—and for which the desires and frailty of man, in such a state of society, form the only, and perhaps not an insufficient, excuse.

That judicial executions for treasonable offences have been frequent in England, is a common, but not a very correct idea. Very few in number make a great figure in history; they cannot however be taken as evidences of national cruelty, since (with the single exception perhaps of Strafford,) every one died at the instance of the monarch. But, even in this respect, can all the judicial murders of England be talked of, when the morality of the Spaniard was so much deadened by his bigotry in religion and politics, that the Duke of Alva was only honoured for the eighteen thousand victims whom he boasted he had put to death on the scaffold in Holland; and when Philip VI. of France condemned ten thousand Flemings to be tortured in three months; and when the French revolutionary tribunal, exclusively a work of the people, has just risen. If under the royalty of France, they are supposed to be less frequent than in England,

it is not assuredly because of a distaste for blood, but that the monarch needed not the aid of justice to condemn or to destroy. The Bastille, Pignerole, and Loches were for individuals; the Noyades and Dragonades for numbers. It is because of the solemnity of a trial and execution in England, of the rank and power of the accused, oftentimes great, but still subjected to the law, and of the rare occurrence of the event, that our minds are full of English legal cruelty; and the deaths of Lady Jane Grey, of Mary Queen of Scots, of Lord William Russell, and others, told as they are with all the pathos that can excite our pity, often arouse our hatred and disgust to the nation, which, in the most justice and reason, should be directed exclusively against the rulers. Comparing the conduct of the English and French in their two great commotions, we are as much astonished at the small quantity of blood shed in the one, as at its diabolical profusion in the other; and it must be remembered, that all this horror was committed in the last, not for the benefit or at the sole instigation of the leader, but entirely for the gratification of the people. In every popular or internal excitement in France, the people have seemed to be insatiate of and drunk with blood; in England, horror struck and remorseful even of the small quantity shed. James II. disgusted and alienated his people by his religious executions—Louis XIV. was revered for his religious dragonades. All the life lost, for treasonable offences, in all the internal commotions of England, does not equal, it has been said, two mornings' work in the great French revolution. It might be unfair to cite particular instances, when not of a class frequently occurring, in illustration of national character; yet we must observe, that the execution of Joan d'Arc, so often pointed out as a blot in the English history, was the work of a tribunal composed of French prelates, with the addition of that Lord Cardinal "who died and made no sign." It was not only English superstition that attributed to her sorcery and heresy, for the University of Paris, and the Inquisition of France, had both demanded that she should be delivered up—"pour faire bonne et convenable reparation, et qu'elle fut brièvement mise és mains de l'église." Two centuries after, la Marechale d'Ancre was burned at the stake in France on the same charges. The murder of Mary Queen of Scots, abominable as it was in every light, might be paralleled, and even eclipsed, by many passages in French history—not to speak of the slaughter of the Duc d'Enghien in later times;—an event of which Fouché spoke the moral sense of too many, when he said it was more than a crime, it was a blunder. France can show her guillotinades, her lanterns, her noyades, her fusillades, her dragonades, her St. Bartholomew, her Jacquerie, of whom seven thousand were put to death in one day at Meaux, after

they were quelled; her “*Tard-venus*” and her “companies,” which shed more blood than she had lost in all her wars with the English; her dozen popular revolutions, or at least attempts to change, which may be counted between 1383 and 1443. One of her historians, Velly, says, that formerly convicts and criminals were executed on Sundays and holidays to amuse the people. The Sicilian vespers were the effect of French cruelty. The atrocities of these ebullitions were perpetrated under such circumstances of deliberation, as may be estimated from the fact, that in the archives of the different towns where they took place, are preserved the registers of the various modes in which torture and death were inflicted. The disgusting and horrible detail of French cruelty, practised by the nation, would fill a volume of no small size; and down to the restoration of Louis XVIII., there sat not a monarch upon the throne, (except perhaps Louis XVI.,) whose reign was unspotted by a barbarity, not to be equalled by any occurrence in the history of England. But one event in all the annals of the last named nation is called a massacre; and at Glencoe but forty people or thereabouts were slaughtered; it was purely military, and rests upon the head of the Duke of Cumberland. Great severity was inflicted upon the insurgent Scotch in 1745, but, as a national trait, it might find a parallel at least in “*Damien’s bed of steel*,” for his attempt on the life of Louis le bien aimé.

Duelling is a custom, a fashion, and nothing more, in France, among all classes; in England it occurs only in the highest, where vanity of course predominates; in each it is equally immoral, but as in the last it is confined to one class of persons, the national morality is unaffected by it, and must be ranked higher than that of France. Suicide in a Frenchman seems unnatural, and yet the proportion between Paris and London in 1818, is stated by Mr. Chenevix to be as five to one.

Charitable establishments, their number, and the sources of their support, are indications of national morality. Where men rise in the world to wealth and honour by the force of their intellect and industry, they are generally aware of the value of man, and can sympathize with the sufferings of the less favoured; but where riches and pleasures are ready furnished, benevolence is less active. When Roderick Random tells his tale of distress to a French nobleman, he is asked by him, “*Eh bien; qu’est ce qu’on peut faire pour vous.*” This was a trait drawn by a shrewd observer of men and morals. In France, establishments are instituted by the monarch; in England, by the people. These important and expensive public charities are founded by the community, either by a long series of legislative enactments, or by private donations of large amount. Even if ostentation were, as

it is said to be, the motive, yet a custom to be ostentatious of charity, continued for a great length of time, and without diminution or alteration, cannot mark a very selfish or immoral people; ostentation cannot be a motive, where every one only does as his neighbour; the individual may not perhaps claim much merit, but the nation cannot but be considered as generous and charitable. Where these charities proceed from the will of the ruler, applying, according to his own ideas and feelings, the public fund—or where they are drawn by superstitious fear from the conscience of remorse, the society can claim but little merit as charitable and compassionate. In England, nothing can speak more loudly the pride and kindness of the nation, than the numbers and magnitude of their charities. There the immense resources of the nobles and rich of the land are as regularly subjected to this drain, as to the payment of their household expenses; and they are as little honoured for this benevolence as for their personal outlays. In France, there are no evidences of any such conceptions of charity, and her capital abounds with proofs of the demoralizing tendency of an absence of feeling. No government ever can correct all the sorrows, or relieve all the desolation of poverty, crime, and misery. If the people do not exhibit generosity, and if they be not active in benevolence, vice and its consequences must increase, and every shoot of vice is but the stem of a thousand crimes. But this people has not yet learnt the self-denial which vanity cannot practise—they must enjoy their own display, and by an unworthy and womanish philosophy, they shun the sight of the evil which a manly spirit would relieve or eradicate. The kindness of the higher classes to the lower is not visible in undertakings for their real benefit and substantial welfare, but in sentiment, elegance, and stage effect. They are familiar with their inferiors, for this is a trait of vanity, greedy of all and every transient applause—but they are not kind, for kindness to those beneath us is generally found united with pride.

So far as the morality of a community depends upon woman, or her influence and character, France, by common consent, is scarcely to be named. In some countries we pity woman, considered only as a companion in sensuality—in others we lament her degradation to a state of servitude. But in spite of their elegance and vaunted refinement, the French, even more than any other inhabitants of the south of Europe, contrived, under the old régime, to deprive her of her real virtues and influence, and to combine the most factitious compilation of the worst and most uncongenial qualities—developing the love of intrigue and the passions of her sex—in union with the intellectual impurities, and moral induration of the other. The scenes of the French court are, even

allowing for a small degree of exaggeration, (and there cannot be much when all tales are nearly alike,) beyond parallel in any European palace of modern times—and not much surpassed by the worst and most singular of antiquity. What a striking fact it is, that no where else has the monarch declared his favourite to be “*maitresse en titre*.” Francis I. introduced the custom; and Louis XIII.—the least criminal, in this respect, of the French monarchs—has been ridiculed in all the memoirs of his own and subsequent eras, even by *Madame La Motte*, for his self-command, his hypocrisy, or his want of passion, that rendered him as averse to the willing beauties of his court as to his own queen—whom indeed he very sincerely hated. Louis XIV. appears to have been, all his life, a sullen sultan in his seraglio. What other nation could have tolerated the Regent, with equal reason suspected of the murder of the grandchildren of France, and of incest with his daughter—or Louis XV., a wretch whose life could not be paralleled in the stews. Even St. Simon, the most austere and moral of the memoir writers, relates as pleasantries, occurrences absolutely shocking to human nature. In all times and in all classes of society, the marital bond was slight; the shame of its violation fell upon the husband, not upon the guilty wife. It is strange that none of the annalists of the times, not even St. Simon, appears to have admired the dignified pride with which M. de Montespan, a singular exception, refused all intercourse with, or favours from, the guilty influence of his wife. But even he was not sensible of the duties of a husband; for after her intimations of the king’s attentions, he refused to withdraw from the presence of his monarch.

In respect to such immorality, the only period in which the English court is comparable to the whole history of the French, is the reign of Charles II.—a Frenchman in all his habits of thought, and action, and education. And yet his life and associations, immoral as they were, and therefore disgusting to the people, were pure to those of almost any one of the French monarchs. In all succeeding times, virtue has been the characteristic of the English female sex. The purity of George III., his court, and domestic relations, saved the nation—at least as much as any cause—from the horrors of a revolution. In France, a woman living in open adultery, making gallantry her business, and perhaps her livelihood, might be still a woman of fashion; but in England, such a one is lost to virtuous and elevated society for ever.

Such are the consequences of pride and vanity, as regards morality; and from the greater or less degree of virtue throughout the community, may be inferred the greater or less diffusion of intellect. The honour, as it is called—the fire, and gaiety of the French, concealed their viciousness; the splendour of the mo-

narch, and the religion of their devotees, were mistaken for the national dispositions. In England, the austerity of the people renders them displeasing, but it is a surer token of the purified heart of man.

Upon nothing can the physical condition of a nation have a more immediate effect than upon their industry. Its first operation was of course to render the world a source of sustenance and delight. In those climates in which man has but little to do, or in which all that he can do is of little avail, no great proficiency in industry can be expected. In luxurious countries, rich materials are at hand, and the object of toil is rather individual enjoyment, than its consequence is general improvement—for men were not led by necessity to combine their intellectual and corporeal endowments. Their industry is therefore denominated luxurious:—but necessary industry, the characteristic of proud nations, values iron rather than gold, engenders the welfare of society rather than of persons, and considers the wants of the poor more than the pleasures of the rich.

Interesting and learned as are the remarks of Mr. Chenevix, in respect to the industry of the ancients, of China, and of other nations, we are compelled to pass them over. France and England exhibit each the modifications of industry. These great nations are now—have been for the last three hundred years, and may be for as many more—the great rivals of each other in influencing the world. To their quarrels and ambition, to the grasping love of glory in the one, and the cold pertinacity of real power in the other; to the one's love of enjoyment, and the other's desire of amelioration, are mainly to be attributed, directly or remotely, the present refined state of man. All the productions of past ages, all that antiquity bequeathed, all that the Italian states effected upon the revival of letters, all that the zeal and science of Spain and Portugal brought to light in foreign climes, all the skill and industry of every people in every era, are now possessed and made their own by England and France. But between the industry of the two there is not only a striking difference, but very strong grounds for a comparison.

The fertility of France surprised the Romans under Cæsar, as wonderful, though they were fresh from the plenteousness of Italy. Yet they were frequently in want of provisions, of which the light inhabitants had made no store. The fertility has continued, and so have the dispositions of the people.

“The annual agricultural profits of France and England, in 1818, as deduced from documents as accurate as can be expected in such matters, were as twenty-one to nineteen. But the superficies of England is only as one to two; and in both countries there is much waste land;—in England, about one-fourth—in France, about one-eighth. Hence, then, the cultivated superficies of the former, is to that of the latter, as three to seven—and France has, moreover, the advantage of climate. Now, deducting one-fourth for the depreciation of the paper

currency in England, the ratio of produce is about as fifteen to nineteen—or in round numbers, sufficiently near the truth, as three to four, from surfaces which are as three to seven. But making all due abatement on account of the greater consumption in England, and the high prices which attend commercial prosperity, and reducing the value to equal surfaces, the proportion becomes as five to seven; that is to say, that the superior agricultural skill of England so much controls natural disadvantages, as to secure an excess of twenty per cent. in the absolute quantity of provisions produced from equal surfaces of British and French soil; while the superiority of her manufactures and trade, gives four measures of English soil a value equal to that of seven and a half of French soil. Such is the result of too easy fertility, which has not compelled the inhabitants of France to devise laborious methods of cultivation, but has bestowed upon them every advantage except an incitement to thought and a motive for provident reflection." Vol. ii. p. 93.

The advantages of thought and reflection, are, however, exhibited even in France in respect to their vines, in the cultivation of which, and in the manufacture of whose fruits, they excel all nations. Such is their situation, that, without care and foresight, their wines would be inferior, for nature does not do more than merely produce the plant. In Spain and Hungary, where it grows to far greater perfection spontaneously, their wines would be better than the French, if proper care and labour were bestowed upon its culture and produce.

In the manufacture of silk, the French were for a long time unrivalled. It was introduced as an article of luxury, and now, under the encouragement which it has received from various monarchs, is in the possession of every peasant. Sully, who saw that it was not fitted for the climate, endeavoured to dissuade Henry IV. from patronizing its increase. The same monarch held out inducements to the manufacture of fine linen, fine earthen ware, as well as Venetian glass; and it is in perfect accordance with the disposition of the people that tapestry should have preceded woollens. These were supplied principally by the English and the Dutch until 1646. Their manufacture has however been fostered, and even made, by royal patronage: and at the close of the seventeenth century, France supplied the Levant; supplanting the English by a scheme of the great Colbert. The arts of the manufacture and of dyeing, were learnt from the English; and the principal establishment placed at Abbeville, under the direction of Van Robais, a Dutchman. In 1818, the value of the manufacture of cloth amounted to £5,500,000, and their finest are superior to the English; but the usual qualities, such as are in daily use by all classes of society, are far inferior. Their bales were for a long time made up after the English fashion, by way of procuring a market. The fabrication of cotton threads and stuffs, in 1818, was not one-twentieth of that of Britain. In the amount of manufactures, as stated by Postlethwayte, (and the English have certainly not decreased since his time,) the French proportion is

miserably insignificant in all things useful, or as they may be termed, intellectual. The French mirrors are the finest and most splendid of the world; and the exclusiveness of their nobility was first infringed by a patent granted to noblemen concerned in their manufacture. They excelled also in jewellery, and were "employed in chiseling silver or twisting gold into filigrams while tributary to England for cloths." So their laces and millinery, their ornaments and equipages, are generally more worked and costly than those of any other nation; but—as manufactures which opulence and indolence only can purchase or enjoy—they certainly develop very little of that spirit of equality, about which they declaim so much. It is impossible that, in a nation where the whole employment of the laborious is to add to the vanity and decorations of the richer classes, there can be any practical equality.

Birth and wealth, or high station, were seldom found united with scientific pursuits. Whatever ability or industry, therefore, may have been occasionally displayed, in the invention or discovery of such instruments or aids, as are necessary to science, failed, from the want of due patronage. In such particulars as are needful in navigation, as chronometers, quadrants, telescopes, &c., their manifest inferiority may be pardoned; or at least, the excellence of the English accounted for. But the tastes and dispositions of all classes of people are exhibited in their aptitudes to the wonders and pleasure of science and art, rather than to their sublimity and usefulness. In horology this is strikingly evident. Repeaters, and musical and ingenious clocks and watches, are more improved and beautified in France than elsewhere. Repeaters were of English invention, but are now almost entirely of French manufacture. Until lately they were guilty of the absurdity of computing time by our senses, as their ingenious chronometers, showing the difference between real and apparent time, sufficiently prove. Their optical instruments generally are inferior to the English, and no proficiency of skill is visible in their making. An achromatic telescope of Dollond was some time since purchased in London, taken to Paris, the radii of the surfaces measured by a congregation of savans, and it surpassed all their ability to replace the parts. It was necessarily sent back to London for that purpose. Their claims to the invention of the telegraph and stereotype printing are at least contested, the first by the ancients, and by Mr. Edgeworth in 1767; and the second by the Dutch in the earliest times of the art, and by the printer of a Sallust in England in 1736. At this day their printing is not equal to that of their rivals; nor is their paper, nor any of the adjuncts of literature or science. Bolton and Watt's factory was illuminated with gas about two years before Lebon had illuminated his parlour; and if we were

to go through all the useful, and many of the elegant, appliances of life, we should find that generally the credit of invention, and almost always, of what is of more importance, improvement, rightly belonged to the English. But the French indisputably were the inventors of the balloon, and the only people who ever seriously thought of making it serviceable; of hats and caps, in 1439; of the art of noting down steps in dancing like music, called chorography, in 1588; of wigs, in 1616; of most parts of modern costume, particularly female, as hair powder, hoops, tight stays, iron busks, and many inventions and discoveries in the culinary art, and the equipage of the table, many of which display great ingenuity, but the effects of which, upon the head and heart, are not probably very exalting. Their industry, it must always be remembered, has generally been spurred into action by the government, or rewarded with particular approbation by the monarch;—as their manufacture of cloth—the desire of success in which was so strong as to sway the bigotry of Louis XIV., who not only made immensely valuable donations to Van Robais, exclusive of the pecuniary advantages of his patent, but granted to him and to his workmen permission to retain their own—the Protestant religion; and to any Frenchwoman who should marry one of them, the option of remaining a Catholic or assuming the reformed faith; and as if even in this the national dispositions were to be consulted, he granted the patent for the making of superfine broad-cloth, of which alone the vain and opulent could make use, while the common classes were obliged to wear the miserable production of the French loom.

It can scarcely be necessary to point out the different uses to which the same powers have been applied in England; but we may at least show some of the results of English industry. In 1338, the galleys of Edward III. were built at Nice. In 1381, forty-three years afterwards, the famous navigation act was passed, prohibiting the carriage of merchandise by British merchants, except in British bottoms, and with a crew principally British. In 1399, the importation of foreign woollens was prohibited, so early did they rely on their own resources. In 1590, the customs which Elizabeth had farmed for £14,000, were worth £50,000—and as yet scarcely an article of vanity. In 1613, the customs amounted to £148,000, and between 1641 and 1647, the parliament levied forty millions. The navigation act was generalized by Cromwell; for the industry of the nation was heard even in the rage and cant of fanaticism, and in the animosity of civil discord. Between 1660 and 1688, the tonnage of the royal navy increased from 62,000 to 111,000 tons, and that of the commercial was doubled. In 1709, the customs amounted to £1,500,000, and the revenue from the post-office was £90,000. Two years after

the separation of America, the customs netted above £5,500,000, and the exports £16,000,000, the post-office £500,000, the tonnage of the navy generally was equal to three-fourths of that of the civilized world, the whole public revenue was £15,397,491, leaving a surplus of nearly one million. In 1823, the customs were £11,500,000, the exports £52,000,000, of which forty-three millions consisted in home manufactures, the post-office £1,500,000, the revenue £57,500,000, leaving a surplus of £6,500,000. To what is all this vast and almost incalculable wealth of Great Britain to be attributed? Certainly not to the productions of the island; for they are few and as nothing in comparison with those of other nations. It is by the union of intellect, exertion, and time, that all is engendered; not by vainly neglecting what can be raised at home, nor by still more foolishly endeavouring to raise what cannot be produced there, but by putting forth to every quarter of the world for its fruits, by bringing home the raw material almost as cheaply, by means of her naval strength, as if produced within her limits, and by adding to it that unsubstantial, intangible, abstract commodity, called industry, in which mind and body, head and heart, are equally combined to the full strength of each. What nation equals her in wealth, in agriculture, in commerce, and in manufactures? and where is the intellect so much developed, and so universal as in Great Britain?

“That the faculties conferred by nature on the French, were as capable of leading them to as useful flights of invention as any other nation, cannot be doubted; yet the fact is, that they have discovered and invented less than any people whose rank in social improvement entitles them to honourable recollection. In proportion to the times, they have done less than the Egyptians, the Greeks, or the Romans; and in modern ages, every nation named in this chapter stands above them for some useful addition to the store of human industry. Spain and Portugal can look to America and to India; Italy can turn to the early history of reviving industry; Germany can show her useful labours—*tulit aller honores*—of which modern civilization has taken such advantage; and England can point to the empires she has created and is creating to attest this truth. But France cannot show, as hers, a single grand discovery in navigation or geography, a single invention in industry, any addition to the general happiness of man, any large and benevolent conception in any of the important branches of welfare, comparable to those enumerated above. The most advanced in luxury, combining the greatest share of intellect with sensuality, more calculating than splendid nations, more polite than selfish nations, generally are, she has hardly deposited in the archives of true civilization a single principle of which enlightened industry could profit; and of all her rivals and cotemporaries, of all her equals in renown, she has contributed the least to the progress and happiness of the species.”—Vol. ii. p. 99.

In exhibiting the reaction of each of these modifications of industry, necessary and luxurious, upon nations, Mr. Chenevix is particularly strong.

“The island of Great Britain, smaller than any European state of the first, and than many of the second, order; situated in a more northern latitude than about

four-fifths of Europe, not gifted with the best of soils, and far removed from redundant or luxuriant fertility, is the greatest empire that ever has figured in the history of mankind. The proofs of this assertion are written in every part; in her power, which no hostile combination has been able to impair; in her fidelity to all her engagements, in her financial punctuality, in the success of her fleets and armies, in her philosophy, in her morality, in her government, in the empires which she has created and is still creating, in her restraining by her superior wisdom dependant colonies, six times as peopled and almost a hundred times as extensive as herself; in her educating them to all her virtues and knowledge, and teaching them to be free as she is; in her diffusing more happiness and less evil than any ruler of the earth ever did, and in her successfully opposing those who would trample on its poorest inhabitants. These are the fruits of her necessary industry. On the other hand, see what the luxury of France has produced. Not a colony to bless her; not an empire that she has benefited; bankruptcies in every age; fraud, violence, in every transaction; public debts effaced by confiscation, or cancelled by murder; more massacres than any Christian nation ever beheld, and her despotism costing more blood than English liberty; her bursts of glory followed by bitter reverses, her days of intellect chequered by nights of darkness; her magnificence bought by what is better than splendour, and her resources inferior to her means. Nor is France the only European country that shares these defects; but as the continental power which occupies the largest share in public attention, she stands the most prominent to be mentioned."—Vol. ii. 116.

To these views, and to the facts upon which they are formed, we cannot oppose any objection. We cannot differ from the author in his delineation of France in respect to her industry; and while we grant that she is, in every other respect, the most pleasant country, we do not mean to concede, that in respect to national intellect, energy, or any of the more elevated traits of character, she can soundly be compared to her supposed rival. At the same time we know of nothing that can render tolerable the eternal arrogance and assumption of the English, but such sound sense and argument as are contained in this work.

It was our intention and desire to examine other national characteristics, such as intellect, patriotism, religion, government, &c., and their modifications, and to investigate their development and reaction in other countries than have been named. In respect to all traits, Mr. Chenevix considers the nascent dispositions and tendencies of the United States, and with great propriety, as it appears to us, attributes pride and its category of qualities to the north; vanity and its concomitants to the south. Sixty years, however, is a small period for the demonstration of national character, over an immense land and different climates.

But we must draw our observations to a close, and advise those who may feel an interest in such speculations to consult the work itself. It would speak more for the literary habits of this nation, if one such work as this would pay for its reprint, than a myriad of novels or poems. We have already observed upon it as a philosophical production, freed from those metaphysical abstractions which generally bewilder equally the reader and the author. It is the philosophy of an age no longer deluded by

fancies, and too well informed to be content with theories which have nothing but their strangeness to recommend them. . In our author's hands national character is really an idea—not a term. By a sound induction from facts, as unquestionable as any which history presents, he has drawn conclusions perfectly undeniable. Johnson, acute as he was, evidently attached no precise meaning to national character, when he declared that it was perpetually changing. He founded his remark upon individual instances.

The style of Mr. Chenevix is pure and nervous. He does not appear, however, to have paid so much attention to his belles lettres as to his thoughts. His elegance, his strength, and his occasional really eloquent passages, are evidently the productions of the subject itself, of great mental ability, and of deep reflection. It is not his language which supplies him with ideas, but his ideas produce his language. His work is far superior to some articles on nearly the same subject, which appeared ten or twelve years ago in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, and of which he is stated in a prefatory notice to be the author. His style is better, more refined, and his profundity deeper and more clear.

Perhaps the principal objection to the book is his apparent illiberality in respect to France, as a rival of his own nation; a fault which we in this country may easily draw upon our charity to pardon. We shall be very kind to him in whom we perceive the impulse of a fellow feeling. His praises of England, as different as possible from adulation of the mob, may be attributed to patriotic emotions—a quality which may be regarded with respect, whatever be its results. The question, after all, is not so much of superiority as of difference, and men differ in their preferences; but we have done the author injustice if it be supposed that France and England only are the subjects of his reflection. All history, all nations, and all times, are examined and consolidated, to furnish objects of comparisons and illustrations of his opinions. The north and south, the old and new world, are all investigated. In respect to all qualities he turns to America, and particularly to these United States, with the most liberal spirit. His love of well regulated government, of municipal order, is apparent in the predictions of the future greatness of this country; and in the satisfaction with which he expatiates upon the energy and perseverance evident in the destruction of the physical obstacles—those only with which we are yet busied—to our improvement and civilization.

ART. III.—*Letters on Masonry and Anti-Masonry, addressed to the Hon. John Quincy Adams.* By WILLIAM L. STONE. New-York : O. Halsted : 1832. pp. 566.

It has sometimes surprised us, that among the numerous definitions which have been given of man, he has no where been called the mystery-loving animal. Man has always been a lover of the mysterious. Where nature speaks out most openly, that is, in a female or a child, this propensity appears with the least disguise. What little urchin is there, who is unconscious that he can, at any moment, increase his importance with his companions, by announcing, with a knowing air, that he has a secret which he might tell them if he would? Nor is the matter much otherwise with grown children. Does not every tyro in the science of human nature, know, that an affectation of reserve, with the finger on the lips, and a significant shake of the head, is the easy means whereby fortune-tellers, village politicians, aye, and city politicians too, acquire all their little consequence, and become successively the oracle of the hour? Vanity and curiosity lie at the root. One seeks for knowledge, and another for distinction; and the affectation of mystery is particularly the resort of the cunning, to make them equal with the strong.

Perhaps, of all the nations of the ancient world, Egypt was the most inclined to mystery. This tendency is every where to be perceived in the relics of her religion, philosophy, literature, and art. Nowhere has priestcraft grasped and maintained so mighty a dominion over the mind and conscience, nay, over the most petty habits of every day life! This power was exercised by means of mysteries. Her theology was full of absurd and extravagant notions, which the priests solemnized and made respectable, by throwing over them the mantle of secrecy. Not a beast of the field, nor a fowl of the air, but was sacred in the eyes of this priest-ridden people, and the worship of the animal creation, and likewise of a vast number of inanimate things, was celebrated with innumerable rites, which imposed on the unreflecting mass, while the grave and intelligent, like the traveller Herodotus, suffered themselves to be put off with the miserable pretence of “a mysterious reason,” in the many cases where even the most cunning could give no reason at all. Religion was burdened and disguised with mysteries. Philosophy, too, had her full share. Pythagoras and Plato, especially the former, carried back to Greece the occult mysticism of the Egyptians, together with their refinements in science. The Samian sage was never particularly fond of giving reasons. “Avoid beans,” said he, with the gravity that became a philosopher; “avoid beans,” echoed his obsequious disciples, and all Greece regarded the

mystic maxim with reverence. A thousand surmises were made by the curious as to the motive of the prohibition; the real one was probably no other than this, that the same article was also forbidden by Egyptian superstition. Beans or balls, Ceres or Isis, all was one to him of Samos, so that he could impress his countrymen with a sense of the importance of his doctrines, and obtain that moral and political influence in the Grecian world, which he so ardently coveted. Hence, his concealment in the cave, whence he issued to announce that he had visited the infernal regions, and was indued with miraculous powers. But to return to Egypt; it is there we find the origin of those divisions into orders and degrees among the initiated, that have in all ages and countries, proved so mighty an engine in stimulating the zeal of the youthful aspirant for science or power. There originated the distinction between doctrines exoteric and esoteric, and various other contrivances to prevent the world from becoming wise at a jump. The intelligent and the cunning, the rich and the powerful, were flattered with the idea of looking deeper than other men into the secrets of the universe; the high price they paid for the gratification, was money, or individual or political influence; whatever, in short, could best be extorted from each; and all combined to hold at a high rate that which had cost them dear.

From science, mystery passed over into literature. The recent discoveries of Champollion have proved, beyond a doubt, that there were three species of writing in use among the old Egyptians, to wit, the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the demotic. One modification of the first, viz. the symbolical or enigmatical hieroglyphics, was exclusively appropriated to mysterious learning, and the priests alone, with such as they chose to initiate, had the key to its meaning. The other two species were of less, though different sacredness. The meaning of these, wherever found, on sarcophagus, mummy, or pyramid, will not now, probably, remain long undeciphered; but some of those who instructed Plato or Herodotus, must come back to earth, before the higher mysteries of the *sacred* character will be revealed to the vulgar curiosity of the moderns. Egyptian art, likewise, bowed her head before the all-controlling rage for mystery. In the vast and gloomy remains of the palaces and temples at Heliopolis, where Plato toiled to learn the secrets of Egyptian science, at Hermopolis, Esneh, Appollinopolis, Magna, and above all, at Thebes—her of a hundred gates, whose vast extent the whole diameter of Egypt was too narrow to contain, and whose suburbs rested on the two ridges of mountains which rise on either side of the Nile—are found porticoes covered within and without with hieroglyphics, representations of griffins, and other unearthly and fantastic forms, and avenues lined with statues of

that personification of mystery—the sphynx. The pyramids, too, are a standing mystery, which to this day leave the inquisitive world in doubt as to the means, materials, mode, and purpose of their construction. Thus it is, that the name of ancient Egypt has well nigh become synonymous with what is dark and occult. She may not unaptly be likened to the woman in the Apocalypse, who ruled over all the cities of the earth, and on her brow was written MYSTERY. In times more recent, the Alexandrian school displayed the same reverence for the mystical, which had distinguished their fathers of Memphis and of Thebes. The lore which they allege to have been taught them by Hermes Trismegistus, consisted, in great part, of the profound sciences of alchemy and magic.

If we glance at those eastern countries, whose early attainments in science and the arts have been most celebrated, we find in all of them a connexion established between the important and the mysterious. The Egyptian mysteries are believed to have been carried into Persia by Zoroaster, but there, Mithras, not Osiris, was the deity whose name consecrated the ceremonial. The probation of the novices bore a striking resemblance to that of Eleusis, save that it was still more tedious and severe. The Persian magi wrapt all their science and religion in the mantle of obscurity. They talked in sounding terms of the opposing spirits of good and evil, of Oromasdes and Ahriman, who are ever striving with each other for the mastery of the world, and of the angelic Peri, always in conflict with the fiendish Dives. They indulged their fancy in lofty and vain speculations in morals; but they carefully concealed from all but a chosen few, much that they called awful and mysterious, shutting up, like the Egyptians, in the Zend, which was a separate dialect, those truths which were too holy for common men to look upon.

The Chaldeans were early distinguished for their successful cultivation of the sciences, particularly of astronomy, and not less for their devotion to astrology, and other occult studies, wherewith they succeeded in imposing on the simplicity of the vulgar, and so attained all the influence and power they desired. From this, and the neighbouring regions, have come forth great numbers of magicians, or pretenders to secret intercourse with supernatural beings, who have amused the intelligent by their absurdities, and misled the vulgar by idle or mischievous impostures.

In China, which claims an antiquity many times greater than philosophers generally allow to the world in its present conformation, we find the records of mystery reaching back as far as the period of probable history. The ancient sect of Tao-ssé celebrated rites bearing a close resemblance to the orgies of Bacchus; the devotees filled the air with howlings, making at the

same time a hideous noise with drums and kettles; and from those days down to the present, we are told that there have always been secret associations in the Celestial Empire, holding nightly assemblies, where they curse the emperor, perform Priapian rites, and prepare every thing for the coming of a new Fo, who is to restore the golden age.

Next to Egypt, however, India has ever been the favourite abode of mysticism. Learning and the offices of religion were engrossed by a peculiar class, the Brahmins, and while these holy men have multiplied almost to infinity the rites and doctrines of religion and philosophy, they have prudently covered them from vulgar scrutiny under the cloak of a sacred language. Each generation of this favoured caste transmits to the following the mystic doctrines of the order; but with greater reserve than was shown in ancient Egypt—no prying foreigner is allowed to behold their mysteries. From time to time, a portion of their secrets has found its way to the profane, enough to show that some of the most vile and gross of the Egyptian ceremonies are to this day retained in the Brahminical worship. They are, however, divested of the coarse obscenity which characterized them on the banks of the Nile, as the inhabitants of India, more imaginative than those of Egypt, have adorned and concealed with poetical imagery, whatever was most offensive. The Gymnosophists have been charged, among other things, with the love and practice of mysteries, but so far as our research has extended, we are free to exonerate these simple and devout ascetics from any such propensity.

One of the most solemn of the Egyptian mystic celebrations was that commemorative of the search of Isis for the mangled and scattered limbs of her consort Osiris. These mysteries were imitated by the neighbouring people of ancient Canaan, changing the name of the deity to Adonis or Thammuz—

Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded.

Indeed, it was from ancient Phœnicia, as some maintain, that Ceres brought the Eleusinian mysteries into Greece.

It is pretty well agreed among the learned, that all the famous mysteries of Greece, the Samothracian, the Dionysian, the Orphic, and the Eleusinian, if indeed these are to be regarded as distinct, claim an Egyptian origin. Orpheus is supposed to have been one of the earliest in that succession of illustrious Greeks, who were initiated in Egypt into those sacred mysteries, which they transplanted into the genial soil of Greece. Orpheus himself carried them to Thrace, whence they were afterwards brought

into Greece proper. With mere changes of name, it is curious to observe how exactly the descriptions given by ancient authors of the rites performed in honour of Osiris, correspond with the well known orgies of Bacchus. Whatever they afterwards became, there is no doubt that in the early celebrations of these orgies, religious ceremonies were united with philosophical instructions. Yet allusion can hardly be made with decency to some conspicuous objects, which equally in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and India, formed an essential part of the mystic ritual. Suffice it to say, that these objects too plainly establish the common origin of the mysteries.

Of this whole species of celebrations, the Eleusinian mysteries have become the most famous, from the lively genius and matchless eloquence of the people who devised them, or at least threw around them the charm of rich and graceful and poetic association. Other sacred duties were despatched in an hour, or at most in a day or two; but for nine successive days the initiated were engaged in celebrating what all Greece, by way of eminence, called "the mysteries." They dared not enter on the performance of the awful rites, till, for the space of a whole day, the cry, "To the sea, ye mystics!" had warned them not to profane these solemnities by the impurities of the world. Then followed sacrifices and processions, under the guidance of the hierophant, who represented the creator of the world, and was adorned with royal robe and diadem. On the evening of "the day of the torches," innumerable flambeaux turned night into day, and commemorated the untiring search that Ceres had made for her daughter. Then came, on the following day, the festal processions of the myrtle-crowned Bacchanals along "the sacred road." It was only in the solemn hour of night that novices were admitted to their first participation in the mysteries. The ceremonial of initiation, preceded by long and painful probation, began with washing the hands, during which the attentive novices were solemnly exhorted to keep pure their minds and hearts, without which the cleanness of the body would avail them nothing. They were then permitted to hear the reading of the holy mysteries from the cemented tablets of stone whereon they were engraved. Scenic representations were exhibited, illustrating the history and actions of gods and heroes, and the rewards and punishments of Elysium and Tartarus. While the catechumens were inducted into the venerable arcana, the scene around partook of the awful character of the revelations to which they listened; the vaulted temple was at one moment radiant with light, and the next immersed in sudden and fearful gloom; the earth groaned and trembled beneath their feet; unearthly phantoms appeared and vanished, leaving the minds of the spectators agitated with wonder and affright. It was no secondary

deity in whose honour the rites were celebrated; they were instituted to Ceres, the goddess of corn and harvests, the benefactress of mankind, and to Proserpine, the awful queen of the abodes of the dead. Their object has been a matter of much doubt; but though Clement of Alexandria, and others of the early Christian writers, have scouted them as being from the first repositories of indecency and blasphemy, we are free to confess a leaning to the more favourable view which Plato, and Isocrates, and Tully, and Sallust have given. These philosophic observers tell us that the purpose of the Eleusinian mysteries was to unite men at once more closely to their fellow men and to the gods; to apply, in a seemingly indecent exhibition of external symbols, a safe remedy for youthful passions; to communicate valuable physiological secrets; to elevate men above the coarseness of physical life to the contemplation of the humane, the refined and the intellectual; and best of all, to inculcate the doctrine of an immortal life. We may judge of the influence of these mysteries upon the Greeks, when we find that Spartan and Athenian, Cretan and Parrhasian, suspended their interminable feuds, and went hand in hand to the sacred banks of the Cephissus, brothers and friends during the continuance of the rites, deadly foes as soon as they were concluded. The initiated were regarded as ever after invested with a peculiar sanctity, and reaped great advantages in the increased consideration they enjoyed. Foreigners were generally excluded in the earlier times, yet the high reputation of the Scythian Anacharsis gained him admission. An intruder was put to death without mercy. Even the poet Æschylus had nearly lost his life for a simple allusion to one of the arcana. Socrates ventured to condemn them, and his fate was probably hastened by this free expression of opinion. They lost much of their sanctity after the time of Pericles, and were grossly abused to selfish and licentious ends. Yet even in Cicero's time, their ancient celebrity caused many illustrious foreigners to solicit admission, which was generally granted, the former rule excluding them having gone into disuse. At length the crying enormities attending their celebration, compelled the Emperor Theodosius to prohibit them, in the fifth century after Christ.

It was not on the banks of the Cephissus alone that the Greeks gave themselves up to the fascination of mystery. Throughout that classic land—

Where each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breathed around,
Every shade and hallowed fountain
Murmured deep a solemn sound.

Such were the terrors of the cavern of Trophonius, that they who had entered it never smiled again. The venerable oaks of

Dodona were endued with human voices, and inspired by the god, they uttered to the awe-struck votary the oracle of destiny, amidst the howling of winds and the crash of rent branches, when the storm roared through the forest. But with still deeper reverence did the kings and princes of all lands bow at the shrine of the Pythian Apollo, and depositing their rich gifts in his temple of Delphos, sought to know from his priestess the secrets of futurity. Imposing were the forms, and minute the ceremonial; the devotee might not approach the temple save in the month *Béaios*, his head crowned with laurel, and bearing in his hand a wool-encircled branch; his question might only be proposed in writing, and in the fewest words, and the inquirer must then wait the answer in respectful silence. The Pythoness sat on the sacred tripod; the divine influx came; her limbs quivered, she beat her breast and tore her hair; she foamed at the mouth; at length, the dreadful paroxysm found relief in utterance; she spoke, and from her mouth flowed forth, in measured verse, the awful secrets of futurity.

Let us not be thought to dwell with undue particularity on the oracles of Greece, for they formed an important link in the chain of mystery that bound the Greek to the popular superstition. True, the Samothracian and Eleusinian rites, and those of Bacchus, were more peculiarly called the mysteries. Yet it was the tendency of the age to find mystery in all around. It was involved in their philosophy, lent awe to their religion, invested every grand or gloomy scene in that romantic land with a deeper colouring, and gave new and engrossing interest to their anticipations of the future.

The Roman character, in the early ages of the republic, was manly and stern. These noble qualities did not, however, exempt their possessors from the universal propensity for the mysterious. We observe it in the story of the Sybilline oracles, a third part of which the superstitious king was glad to buy at the exorbitant price that had been asked for the whole; and all Rome believed them fraught with the destinies of the republic. We observe it in the story of the politic and philosophic Numa, his secret interviews with the goddess Egeria, and the institutions, both civil and religious, which he founded on her suggestion; among these we must not forget particularly to mention the corporations of mechanics under the names of *collegia et corpora opificum*, which afterwards became the prototype of the associations of architects, in the ages subsequent to the fall of the Roman empire, and through them of the Masonic lodges.

As Rome extended her dominions, and increased her power and her population, she adopted the religious ceremonies of many of the nations she had vanquished, and ingrafted their rites and mysteries upon her own simple worship. The mysteries of Isis

were transferred at once, together with the name of that deity, from Memphis to Rome; under the different appellations of *Vesta*, *Cybele*, *Fauna*, *Fatua*, and *Bona Dea*, the goddess whose real name might not be pronounced by mortals, received the homage of the Romans, accompanied by the celebration of august and profound mysteries. At some of these ceremonies, none but females were admitted, and it was upon these that the libertine *Clodius* intruded. These rites grew more complicated as the state grew older, and with the universal corruption of manners which accompanied the downfall of the republic, they became the scenes of the grossest riot and debauchery.

It was about the same time when the Roman manners began to yield to luxury, that *Cæsar* made his irruption into Britain, and the masters of the world became first acquainted with the Druids of that island and of Celtic Gaul. The history of this remarkable sect furnishes another instance of the powerful tendency there is in man to the secret and the marvellous. Like the Egyptian priests, the Druids pretended to be the depositaries of all knowledge, human and divine; and like them too, they obtained the undisputed mastery over the minds of the people. They were indeed acquainted with all of science that was to be found in their secluded island, and they cautiously kept it within their own circle. To affect the vulgar mind with suitable awe, the rites which they practised were of the most mysterious, nay, of the most horrible kind. They immolated to their gods human beings, and of them only the most perfect and beautiful. Amid the deepest gloom of the forest, in the stillness and darkness of night, they celebrated their dreadful sacrifices;—disturbed by no sounds save the scream of the owl, the howlings of the wolf, or the shrieks of their victims. Their influence over the Britons was unlimited; but as the light of Roman intelligence and science arose upon the island, the Druids were compelled to retire within narrower bounds, till nothing remained to them but the inaccessible fastnesses of Wales.

Whether or not the Druids were pupils of *Pythagoras*, we shall not now stop to inquire; certain it is, that they too, like the priests and philosophers of other nations, had two sets of doctrines, the one for the common people, the other, of a sacred character, was reserved for the ear of the initiated; and during the continuance of their power, so artfully had they woven around the people the web of their power, that princes and kings pressed with eagerness to be admitted into their mysteries, for the sake of the privileges and influence which they were able to confer. All that has come down to us of this singular order, furnishes ample proof, if such were wanting, of the iron grasp with which superficial knowledge may take hold on the minds of the

ignorant, if it be only sanctioned by the name of religion, and shrouded in the mantle of mystery.

Even among the simpler tribes of the north of Europe, we find traces of mystery in the doctrines of religion. Though Odin welcomed to his palace of Jalhalla all who fought and fell bravely in battle, yet the minds of the rude Scandinavians were darkened and troubled with auspices, and divinations, and oracles, and magic; and among their observances we find an annual festival, attended with mystic rites, and much resembling the Roman Saturnalia. So too among the ruder tribes of the North American aborigines, magic and mystery have been found at home. The Obi of the Creoles furnishes still another illustration of this universal weakness.

At the period when the Roman power had reached its culminating point, and had begun its downward march, a science, which had not before gained much notoriety among men of distinction in this quarter of the world, found its way to high favour. This science was astrology. It had its origin among the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and was the offspring of the divine science of astronomy, though begotten by the foul fiend Superstition. Astrology undertook to teach men to read their fates and fortunes in the aspects and conjunctions of the stars. The potent and secret influences of the constellations became the source of gain and power for the pretending few, and the terror of the credulous multitude. Even the pride of the tyrant Tiberius, and the philosophy of Adrian, bowed themselves down before the wand of the astrologer.

In another quarter the influence of the cunning few over the many was extended and retained by the same powerful talisman. We refer to the Cabbala of the Jewish rabbins. They are mysterious and important doctrines, which it was forbidden to commit to writing, but which have been handed down from the day when they were first given to Moses on Mount Sinai, through chosen individuals of each generation. They were lost during the Babylonish captivity, but supernaturally restored to the Jews in the person of Esdras. Among these awful secrets were words whereby spirits might be invoked, and any good rabbin could doubtless promise as fair as the monk in the Lay of the Last Minstrel; and probably would escape from performance by the same saving clause.

And, warrior, I could say to thee
The words that cleft Eildon hills in three,
And bridled the Tweed with a curb of stone;
But to speak them were a deadly sin;
And for having but thought them my heart within,
A treble penance must be done.

The sects of Gnostics, Essenes, and Manicheans, each in turn
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excited attention and commanded respect, certainly not more from the correctness of their views in theology and philosophy, than from the friendly shadow of secrecy under which they reposed. Like the Pythagoreans of Crotona, and indeed like nearly every secret society, ancient and modern, of which history gives any account, they had each their long probation before admittance, their division into different orders, each successive rank being inducted into fuller fruition of the glorious arcana, their esoteric and exoteric doctrines, and their enthusiastic devotion to their respective societies.

Agés wore away. The rapid succession of revolutions which had shaken the political world to its centre, during the dominant and declining power of Rome, had at least produced one favourable effect. It had pulled down the gods of Pagan idolatry. If superstition and ignorance still remained, they had sunk lower than before in the ranks of society. Even in Cicero's time, augur could hardly look augur in the face without laughing. The earlier teachings of Christianity were pure; they had not yet been mingled with those deadly corruptions, which in after times so often made the whole head sick, and the whole heart faint. As early as the sixth century after Christ, the northern barbarians were in possession of the fairest portions of Europe. They trampled under foot the luxuries and refinements of the enlightened but now enervated race, who had built up the mightiest empire of ancient times. To those who had never been allowed to pronounce the name of fear, it is not surprising that the degenerate Romans should have appeared contemptible. "When we would brand an enemy with disgraceful and contumelious appellations," said Luitprand, "we call him a Roman." So low had those fallen, who but a little before were the masters of the world! The sentiment of religion was always strong among the nations of northern Europe. When they had obtained the sway of the Western Empire, there grew up with remarkable rapidity those religious orders which withdrew both men and women from active life to the devout seclusion and privations of the monastery. In imitation of the religious, were established the military orders. From the sixth to the fourteenth century, the propensity of individuals, and the passions of rulers, conspired to fill the camps and halls of the Templar, and down to the sixteenth century, the cells of Franciscan and Dominican, Benedictine and Carmelite. The world was captivated by the austerity of their life, and voluntarily accorded to them honours which power and wealth had been unable to extort. The various orders which holy zeal had once established, soon began to vie with each other in claims to superior sanctity. The novitiate was made a period of the severest penance; and after its painful

ceremonies had been accomplished, and all the rites of initiation into the order had been performed, the brother was taught to believe that a new sacredness was attached to his character, which raised him far above the vulgar mass of men.

The resemblance to the assuming priests of Egypt, was still further increased by the circumstance, that well nigh all the little remnant of literature and science of which the middle ages could boast, was shut up in the cloister. It soon became manifest that the monks, with the vows of poverty, devotion, and celibacy upon them, might be powerful instruments of promoting the aggrandizement of the church. It also appeared, and quite as early, that pride and ambition might lie concealed under the cowl, and that the naked foot, of yore consecrated to chastity, might even walk in the paths of voluptuousness. It is not a little remarkable, how universally the votaries of mystery, from the remotest ancients down to the Freemasons of to-day, have availed themselves of the interest which all men feel in theatrical representations. The mysteries or miracles exhibited by the monks in the middle ages, jumbled together in one heterogeneous mass all that was sublime and grotesque; the holy fathers declared that from beholding them the devout would derive edification; none surely could fail to find entertainment. In proportion as they became numerous and influential, there was more of ceremony and mystery interwoven with the rules of the religious brotherhoods; till at length, in the order of Jesus, the world saw a rare austerity of manners combined with accomplishments the most varied, unflinching obedience to a superior united with the most towering ambition, and all harmonized in a perfect system of discipline, in which rank rose above rank in long succession from the feeble novice to the omnipotent general, while all the mighty machinery by which their ends were achieved, was shrouded in a secrecy as profound as that which protected the awful mysteries of Eleusis. And for nearly two hundred years, the proud and subtle Jesuits ruled with open or secret dominion the chief part of Europe, with a sway as truly absolute as that which they exercised over the simple inhabitants of Paraguay.

Our limits will not permit us to trace the curious coincidences which exist between the institutions of chivalry and those of ancient mysticism. We can only glance in haste at those military orders which had much in common with the monkish fraternities. The former borrowed from the ancient mysteries still more of their initiatory ceremonial than the latter. It was only after long fasting and penance and study, that the aspirant was received into the pale of the Temple, and his investiture with the insignia of the order was attended with imposing pomp and

circumstance. Without entering into the vexed question of the innocence or guilt of the Templars, and certainly without approving the horrible barbarity which exterminated the order, there can be no doubt that they gave occasion to the suspicion and hatred of their enemies, equally by the mysterious rites they celebrated, and by the lordly arrogance too often exhibited.

Anarchy has sometimes goaded men into temporary associations, which have usually fallen asunder as soon as the object of joint action was accomplished. Of this nature was the *Herman-dad* or Brotherhood which existed among the towns of Spain, and served as a check on the violent and arbitrary *grandees*. The league of the *Hanse Towns* owed its origin to a similar reason. The holy *Fehme*, or as Sir Walter Scott writes it, *Vehme-gericht*, was founded far back in the dark ages, from a like justifiable motive; but in process of time, it was found convenient to extend the jurisdiction of the Secret Tribunal, till it became the instrument of advancing the selfish views of its members at the expense of the rest of the community, and thus rendered itself the terror of Westphalia, and other portions of southern and eastern Germany. The region of its fearful operations was called, from their cruelty, the Red Land; and the prince of novelists has given us, in *Anne of Geierstein*, a vivid picture of the audacity and secrecy of its deeds of darkness.

Partaking the judicial character of the *Fehme*, but in other respects resembling more the monkish orders, was the Holy Inquisition. Even now, when the sceptre of this mother of abominations is broken, we find it difficult to speak of her deeds with calmness. Language fails to utter the abhorrence with which the just and humane contemplate her bloody altars. Cold and passionless, this modern fury was far more odious than they of the Grecian mythology; for while with just retribution they punished the bad, she fiercely tortured the good. Neither age, nor sex, nor station, was respectable in her eyes; she rent asunder as if for pastime the bonds of kindred and of friendship, and made a mockery of the stronger ties of love. If the Brahmin arrogated to his caste peculiar privileges, and the Druid stained the forest leaves with the blood of his victims, it may yet be said in extenuation of their selfishness and inhumanity, that their principles of morals were generally pure and wholesome, and their reverence for science great; but self-aggrandizement was the moving principle of the inquisition, with no care for a pure morality, no regard for the discoveries of science.

Of a very different nature have been those associations of mechanics, which, on account of the usefulness of their labours, have received, in different ages and countries, the special protection of princes. The earliest society of this kind which has

left any distinct trace in history, is that of the Dionysiacs, or Dionysian architects of Asia Minor. The beautiful productions of Grecian architecture could not have been finished without liberal encouragement of the art, and great proficiency of the artist; and in those unstable governments, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that in addition to the liberal remuneration for each particular work, the builders should have found it necessary for their safety and prosperity to unite together in corporations or companies, and that the taste or vanity of the monarchs who employed them should have conferred upon them peculiar immunities. Such we are assured was the fact with regard to the Dionysiacs. The notices of these architects are but sparse and uncertain; enough however remains to show considerable analogy between them and the *collegia artificum* which existed in the Roman state. In states where war is the primary object, it was well for mechanics if they could find any bond of union sufficiently strong, any protection ample enough to save them and their craft from annihilation. We doubt whether any means short of a vigorous union of artists could have ensured their existence through the troublous scenes of the Roman republic; but when luxury came in aid of civilization and taste, union was no longer needful.

But when the hordes of northern barbarians invaded the luxurious capital of the world, they swept ruthlessly away whatever savoured of the effeminacy they despised; and their undistinguishing rudeness buried in one common heap that which ministered to indolence and licentiousness, and that which promoted taste, intelligence, and comfort. Some of these haughty conquerors ate from vessels of wood, and contemptuously ordered their Roman captives to be served upon silver. The noblest works of architecture were to them no more than the rude hut. We owe what remains to us of the Pantheon and the Collosseum to their neglect of art, not to their reverence for it. Even when wave after wave of these fierce barbarians had inundated Europe, and the tumult of that stormy sea had at length subsided, these rude conquerors showed no relenting spirit towards the arts. But the religious feeling which always distinguished them, finally wrought out the salvation of the arts, and architecture was the first to enjoy favour. Churches and cathedrals and monasteries were wanted, and architects could only be obtained to build them by the grant of alluring rewards, accompanied with such immunities, obtained by the influence of the clergy, as put them and their acquisitions above the reach of the rapacious barons, who seized unscrupulously on all that was exposed to their power. No permanent employment for a large corps of builders could be found even in the largest cities, in those ages when Paris and London were filled with mud-walled hovels thatched

with straw. The companies of Masons, therefore, called Free, by reason of the privileges they enjoyed at a time when most of the mechanic arts were incumbered with restrictions, went from place to place as their services were wanted, and formed their little encampment near the buildings they erected. To prevent the intrusion of the unskilful and the unworthy, they instituted an examination into the qualifications and habits of each apprentice that presented himself for admission, and if his character and skill were approved, he was made free of the craft by a certain ceremonial. The notices of the first appearance and early operations of these corporate Masons in Britain are few and unsatisfactory. There and on the continent they seem to have much resemblance to the Guilds, in which, from the feudal times, the mechanics who followed the different handicrafts had found it expedient to associate themselves.

From these societies of operative masons have arisen the speculative lodges generally known as the *Freemasons*. Far be it from us to maintain on the one hand, with the unscrupulous supporters of the order, that ancient saints and kings have been masters and fellows of the craft; that Jerusalem owes her temple, Athens her Parthenon, Christendom the preservation of the sacred canon, and the world its morality and its charity to the Freemasons; and on the other hand we shall be equally slow in attributing to the order the gross licentiousness of the Bacchanalian orgies, the wild mysticism of Gnostic, Pythagorean or Rosicrucian, the absurdities of astrology and the Cabbala, the cruelties of Druidism and the Inquisition, or the dangerous tendency of the Illuminati and the Jacobins. All we mean to say is this, that the names of the societies, the mode of initiation, the style and tenor of the moral instruction, the technical terms appropriated by both, and the entire absence of proof of their separate contemporaneous existence, are enough to satisfy any impartial person, that if the companies of operative masons of the feudal times had never existed, we should likewise never have heard of the Freemasons of the last century and the present.

A few words will suffice to connect the external history of Freemasonry with those secret associations to which we have already called the attention of our readers. We find a few Englishmen meeting together under the name of Freemasons, not much more than a hundred years ago. At first it is not easy to tell the purpose of their assembling. By and by we are told that science and morality in general are the end they have in view. Soon afterwards charity is added to the list of their ostensible objects. Certain strange ceremonies are acknowledged to be practiced among them. The brethren have a secret language by which they make themselves understood to each other, but unintelligible to all beside. Then we hear of degrees and

orders among the initiated ; sister lodges are founded in other parts of the world, various orders and insignia of chivalry, with their appropriate terms and splendid pageantry, are adopted ; wherever a Freemason travels, it is observed that immediately, as if by magic, he finds himself in a circle of friends, no region so distant as to remove him out of the sphere of Masonic influence ; and finally, and it is not certainly the least among the merits of the order, we find it in despotic and ill-governed monarchies affording a nucleus around which all patriotic hearts may gather to concert the delivery of their country. If we believe the Abbé Barruel and Professor Robison, all that is licentious and depraved in religion, politics, or morals, was fostered and quickened into a noxious growth at the time of the French Revolution by certain eclectic sects of Freemasons in Germany and France, although their horrible doctrines became notorious and contemptible, not as emanating from the order just named, but from the Illuminati and the Jacobins. Yet if Masonry has any blame to bear from this quarter, it is but just to acknowledge that within the present century the Carbonari of Italy, the Tugendbund of Germany, and the Masonic lodges of Spanish America, have shown that Freemasonry may be of great value as a rallying point for the friends of liberty.

The result of the brief and cursory survey we have taken of mysteries and secret brotherhoods is any thing but favourable to either. If we look minutely into their history, in general we find them established for the ostensible purpose of promoting religion, virtue, science, and humanity, and as often degenerating into absurd and puerile pageantry, into the orgies of gross licentiousness, into blasphemous impiety. It is often said that we may not fairly argue against the right use of an institution from its abuse. The true rule we take to be, that no institution should be put down merely for a fancied liability to abuse. Those institutions are fully open to objection against which it can be proved, that wherever established, and under whatever circumstances, they have been the actual instruments of the bad for attaining selfish ends, and have thus shown themselves peculiarly liable to misuse and corruption. This has been eminently the case with secret associations. We have seen something of the course they have taken in the old world. What has been the case in the new ? Let Mr. Stone answer the question, from whose very interesting narrative we fear we have too long detained our readers.

It cannot be unknown to any into whose hands these pages may fall, that within five years past a party has arisen in these United States, with the avowed object of excluding every Freemason from public office. Resolved and stern, like the Covenanters of Scotland, this party has pursued its object with a per-

tinacity, that seemed to acquire equal strength from success and from defeat. .

"It had its origin in a small town in the interior of this state, with reference, solely, to a town election. Since that period it has drawn into its ranks nearly one hundred thousand free and intelligent electors of the state of New-York; it has almost divided the vote of Pennsylvania; it has planted itself deeply in the soil of Massachusetts; it is spreading in other of the New-England states, in Ohio, and elsewhere; while in Vermont, like the rod of Aaron, it has so far swallowed up both of the former parties, as to have obtained the control of the state government."—p. 5.

In the volume before us is given, in an easy and agreeable manner, the history of the origin of this party. Mr. Stone comes to his task with singular qualifications for executing it well. Having been for several years the editor of one of the best and most spirited journals in the city of New-York, he not only holds the pen of a ready writer, but has been led to follow closely on the track of his subject, as successive events of interest have occurred in relation to it. He enjoys the additional advantage of having been a high Mason, which circumstance has of course given him access to the mysteries and advantages of the order, such as they are. Above all, Mr. Stone brings to the work an impartial mind, seeking only the truth, and fearless in its avowal.

The following passage gives a bird's-eye view of the beginning of the Anti-masonic excitement.

"In searching for the origin of Anti-masonry, we discover it as proceeding exclusively from the fact, that in the year 1826, a great outrage was committed in the western part of New-York, against the peace of the people and the majesty of the laws. An extensive conspiracy was formed against a free citizen, commencing in his seizure and abduction, and ending in his murder. The men engaged in this foul conspiracy, thus terminating in a deed of blood, belonged to the society of Freemasons; and the life of the victim was taken, as a punishment for a disclosure, on his part, of what have been deemed the secrets of that institution. The fact of the abduction and murder having been satisfactorily ascertained, the people of that section of country, labouring under a very honest feeling of indignation at the perpetration of such an outrage, set themselves about a thorough investigation of this black transaction. But they soon found their investigations embarrassed, by Freemasons, in every way that ingenuity could devise. At that time, by the then existing law of the state, grand jurors were selected and summoned by the sheriffs of counties. In one county, suspicion was strongly fastened upon the sheriff himself; and the grand jurors summoned by him refused to find bills, where the *ex-parte* testimony was on all hands believed to be sufficient to put the offenders upon their trial. In some instances, where convictions were had for the lesser crime of abduction, the parties offending, so far from having been expelled from their respective lodges for their crimes, received aid and comfort from their brethren. In others, some witnesses stood mute; others were believed to have perjured themselves; while in other cases, the Masons on the petit juries, would refuse to convict, even where the testimony was strong as proofs of holy writ. The arm of the law was raised, and the power and authority of the state invoked and exercised in vain; while the grand supervising bodies of the Masonic institution, were themselves strongly suspected of favouring the cause of the accused. The natural consequence of such a chain of circumstances, was to increase the excitement of the people at every new development of facts, and to chafe them into a yet more angry mood, with every successive disappointment. A large portion of the press, moreover,

either observed an ominous silence, or attempted to heap ridicule upon those who honestly believed the blood of an innocent man to be crying from the ground for vengeance.

"Thus irritated and inflamed, the Anti-masons no longer confined their denunciations to a few misguided Masonic fanatics at the west, but proceeded in no measured terms, to denounce the whole fraternity, and to hold the institution of Freemasonry itself as directly responsible for the alleged murder. At one time it was said that the Grand Lodge, at another that the Grand Chapter, and at another that the General Grand Chapter, had directly authorized and required the murder of the victim—whose name, I need not add, was **WILLIAM MOR-
GAN.**"—pp. 6-8.

After describing in lively terms the baneful effects produced by these suspicions and denunciations, the poison they infused even into the charities of private and domestic intercourse, the distrust and exasperation they spread over all the social relations, Mr. Stone thus states the object of his book, an object which does as high credit to the goodness of his heart, as the general execution of the work to his taste and ability.

"These asperities must be softened. The Anti-masons must be made to perceive, that, whatever they may think of Freemasonry itself, their indiscriminate proscription of its members, whom they know to be pure and virtuous, patriotic and upright citizens, is cruel and unjust. The Masons, on their part, must in like manner be made to perceive, that there has been great cause for the excitement and indignation of the Anti-masons. They must likewise be made to perceive, that the masonic institution, having over a wide region of country been corrupted and abused—nay, stained with blood which its officers have not tried to wipe away—is liable to be so abused and corrupted again; and, therefore, that it cannot and ought not longer to be sustained."—p. 11.

In the execution of the task undertaken with such praiseworthy motives, Mr. Stone begins with describing Masonry as he himself received and practised it. To the uninitiated portion of our readers, at least, we think this part of the work will prove highly entertaining. The mixture of absurd fable, of sound moral instruction, of mechanical terms and symbols, of scenic representation, and of touching and eloquent appeals to the heart, in the ceremonial of the various degrees, is interesting though highly incongruous, and shows in strong relief the mongrel origin of the order as now existing, tracing its paternity to knowledge and ignorance, chivalry and mechanics, history and fable, in about equal proportions. We can hardly refrain from copying the lively description of the emblems of the Master's degree, in the third, and of the initiatory rites of the Templar's degree, in the sixth Letter. In the seventh our author examines the nature of the masonic obligations, which, as received by virtuous men, he maintains to have been understood as perfectly consistent with patriotism and religion. He shows that some of the most objectionable clauses of masonic oaths are recent interpolations, while at the same time he correctly concludes his remarks on this head with the declaration that "these oaths are all wrong."

There has been some variance among the brethren about what

constitutes the real secrets of the order. Mr. Stone's opinion has long been,

"That the essential secrets of Masonry, consisted in nothing more than the signs, grips, pass-words and tokens, essential to the preservation of the society from the inroads of impostors; together with certain symbolical emblems, the technical terms appertaining to which served as a sort of universal language, by which the members of the fraternity could distinguish each other, in all places and countries where lodges were instituted, and conducted like those of the United States." p. 71.

And we are glad, without being at all surprised, to find our author declaring, shortly after,

"That should a brother Mason tell me, as a secret, that he had robbed a store, I should very speedily make the matter public in the police office; or, should he say that he had helped to murder William Morgan, I should as certainly help the civil authorities to put him in the way of being hanged." p. 73.

In the eighth and ninth Letters, Mr. Stone briefly examines the numerous claims that have been set up for the antiquity of speculative Masonry, and although he assigns to it an origin some hundred years earlier than we should be willing to admit, yet he rejects with merited contempt the baseless fables which would trace the order from Adam, through Abraham, Solomon, and Julius Cæsar. He cannot, with Lawrie, find Masonry in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. "Equally difficult," says our author, "in my apprehension, would be the task of finding any verisimilitude" (doubtless a *lapsus pennæ* for similitude) "between Freemasonry and the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, which were borrowed from Egypt, and celebrated with so much strictness in several of the Grecian states, particularly in Attica." p. 91. We do not, any more than Mr. Stone, see in Freemasonry a continuation of the Eleusinian mysteries. But we cannot escape from the conviction, that the origin and perpetration of both are to be traced to precisely the same infirmities of the human mind. This survey of the history of the order is concluded by an array of eight reasons, drawn from the character of the institution, why it should be abolished, and which we doubt not all impartial men will agree in thinking good and sufficient. These reasons are, substantially—that the history of Masonry is founded in fraud and imposture; that its ceremonies are puerile; that the institution is useless, since the diffusion of Christian as well as intellectual and political truth has superseded the necessity of inculcating morality and virtue by force of oaths, and through the medium of symbols and emblems; that its legality is questionable, and its oaths contrary to divine command; that attendance upon its duties occasions great waste of time; that there is a growing jealousy among the people against secret societies, and not without cause; and lastly, that the institution has been abused, and may be again.

Mr. Stone then proceeds to relate what is known of the life

of William Morgan, the Masonic victim. His failings, it would seem, were many, and among them was an avaricious disposition. His unsettled habits keeping him continually poor, and poverty rendering him petulant, he quarrelled with his masonic brethren, and avarice and revenge suggested to him a double gratification in publishing to the world the treasured secrets of Freemasonry. The masons were soon apprized of his design, which occasioned them the greatest alarm. The terror of the threatened publication spread widely and rapidly, and various were the schemes, legal and illegal, to which the brotherhood resorted to frustrate it. We pass over the first outrages against Morgan and his partner Miller, and extract Mr. Stone's account of the final abduction of the former, on the 11th of September, 1826, upon a charge of petit larceny.

"Early on the following morning, (the 11th,) Morgan was arrested by Hayward, and brought to a tavern kept by Mr. Danolds—Morgan making no objections to going along with him, and breakfasting with the officer and his associates. An extra coach was again engaged for the return; but while preparations were making for their departure, Colonel Miller appeared, and objected to Morgan's being taken away, on the ground that he was then on the limits, and, of course, in the custody of the sheriff of Genesee; Miller, being his bail, feared that should he be carried beyond the prison limits, he (Miller) would then become responsible for the debt and costs. In answer to this objection, it was maintained, that, inasmuch as the warrant was issued in the name of the people, for a criminal offence, the officers had a right to hold his person, and take him to Canandaigua. Morgan made no objections himself, and voluntarily entered the carriage, according to the account of Brown; but the narrative of the Lewiston committee, which appears to have been drawn up with great caution, conveys a different impression. Miller, it says, was rudely pushed aside by Danolds, the inn-keeper, who closed the door, while Cheseboro, mounting upon the outside, directed the coachman to drive fast, until they should cross the line of the county. The coachman, it appears, was suspicious that all was not right, and being reluctant to proceed, was persuaded by Cheseboro to keep on to Stafford, on the assurance that Ganson would then become security against all responsibility—and this responsibility was assumed by Ganson. At Le Roy, Morgan was told by Hayward, that if he chose, he might go before the magistrate who had endorsed the warrant, and be discharged, on giving bail for his appearance to answer to the charge, at the next term of the General Sessions of the Peace for Ontario. It may have been that Morgan, being thus away from home, felt that it would be difficult for him to procure bail, should he make the exertion;—but he said he preferred going on to Canandaigua, where, as he believed, he could soon satisfy Kingsley, that, although he had not returned the trifle of clothing, yet he had no intention of stealing it. The distance between Canandaigua and Batavia, is fifty miles; and the party having Morgan in custody, arrived on their return, at about sun-set. The prisoner was immediately taken before Justice Chipman, and examined upon the charge preferred against him, but which soon fell to the ground. It appeared that he had merely borrowed the shirt and cravat of Kingsley, and of course there was nothing felonious in the transaction. On being discharged from this prosecution, however, in which a Mason, by the name of Loton Lawson, appeared on his behalf, he was immediately arrested by Cheseboro for a small debt of two dollars, due to one Aaron Ackley, another tavern-keeper in Canandaigua, and for the collection of which Cheseboro produced a power of attorney. Morgan admitted this debt; judgment was taken by confession; and an execution was sued out on the spot. Having no money to satisfy it, he pulled off his coat, and made a tender of that;—but the officer refused to take it, and the unhappy man was

forthwith taken to prison, and locked up at about 10 o'clock in the evening. It was on the morning of that day, that the sun last dawned upon his freedom." pp. 145—7.

Mr. Stone has well described the distress of the unfortunate man's wife upon the arrest and removal of her husband. In the hope of procuring his release, she went to Canandaigua under the protection of a man named Ketchum, carrying with her the manuscripts whose publication was so much apprehended.

"During the journey from Batavia, the feelings of Mrs. M. had been sustained by the confident expectation, that she would not only meet her husband on her arrival at Canandaigua, but procure his release, even were she to find him in duress. The charge under pretext of which he had been so rudely torn from his family and home, was of such a paltry nature, that it could not be doubted that in the wonderful papers, which were now in her trunk, she had a charm that would readily dissolve all the bolts and bars that might stand in her way. But hope was a deceiver. Ketchum, after an absence of some time, returned to the inn at which they had stopped, stating that he had not been able to find her husband; adding that the Masons looked upon him as a friend of Morgan's, and being apprehensive that he had come to get him away, would hold no conversation with him. He then asked her for the papers, and taking them with him promised to do all in his power to ascertain where her husband was, and bring her the intelligence. Hour after hour passed away, without any tidings, during which time her apprehensions became painfully oppressive. Towards evening, however, he again returned, and informed the distressed woman of her husband's having been there; of his trial for larceny; his acquittal, &c.; together with the particulars of his second arrest and imprisonment for debt. But although he truly added that Morgan had subsequently been taken from the prison, by a man who had paid the debt, and carried off in a close carriage, yet he stated the falsehood, that this debt had been paid by a man from Pennsylvania, to whom he (Morgan) was indebted, and at whose suit he had now been carried thither. He then coldly asked Mrs. Morgan, when she wished to return home to Batavia. The desolate woman replied that she would go immediately, as she had left a child but two years old, and, without money, was there, among strangers, with an infant in her arms only two months old.

"Once more was the poor woman left alone, while her guardian went to take a passage for her in the stage. Returning again, in the evening, a scene occurred of the most interesting and painful description. He found Mrs. Morgan traversing the room, in the bitterest anguish, relieved only by the tears which were flowing down her cheeks. Though beyond a doubt he was deeply in the plot, yet he could not withstand the passion of her grief; he could not, it seems, suffer her to depart under the cruel deception which he had attempted to practice upon the now wretched woman. Accordingly, after surveying her for a few moments in her distress, he took her to a seat, and attempted to sooth the bitterness of her feelings. He assured her that he did not know where her husband was—that his place of concealment was not known—but that if she would permit him to take the papers to Rochester, he thought he should be able to discover him. He then told her that a part of the papers which they wanted were missing—particularly the illustrations of the mark-master's degree—and he urged that, on her return to Batavia, she would find the remainder of the papers, if possible—assuring her moreover, that if she could ascertain where the sheets of the first three degrees, already printed by Miller, could be found, and give him information at Rochester, by letter, he would give her twenty-five dollars, and the lodge would pay her one hundred dollars more. Mrs. M. declined making the attempt to obtain the papers, or printed sheets, from Miller, and said she would not receive the money. She also hesitated about giving up the papers now in her possession, fearing, as she frankly told him, that it was their intention to keep her husband in concealment until they should obtain them all, and then take his life. He again pressed her to write to him at Rochester, and in-

form him as to the state of public feeling at Batavia, in regard to the taking away of her husband. He gave his name on a slip of paper, 'George Ketchum,' and on taking leave, made a solemn pledge as follows :—'I promise, before my God, that I will not deceive you, but will do all I can to find out where he [Morgan] is, and let you see him : I have no doubt when I get back to Rochester, I can find out more, and I think I can find where he is.'

"Ketchum had paid her passage, and he now gave her two dollars to defray her expenses back to Batavia. Thus was this unfortunate woman left—a stranger, in a strange place—homeless—friendless—with an infant at her breast, and another child at fifty miles distance, which, though not quite so young, was, nevertheless, equally dependant and helpless. Her husband—no matter what were his faults, he was still her husband, the father of her children—had been torn from his family ; and with a heavy heart, she was now compelled to return, after a fruitless search, equally as ignorant of his fate, or of the place in which he had been concealed, as when she had set out upon the bootless mission."—pp. 149-152.

The extraordinary story of the kidnapping of Morgan from Canandaigua is related as follows :—

"Morgan was thrust into prison, at about the hour of nine o'clock in the evening. Immediately afterwards, on the same night, a man named Loton Lawson, hired a horse of Ackley, avowedly for the purpose of going to Rochester—distant thirty miles. He returned early in the morning, and went immediately to bed—informing Ackley, the inn-keeper, that some gentlemen from Rochester would call for him in the course of the day. In the afternoon, two men from Rochester, viz. : Burrage Smith and John Whitney, called, agreeably to the intimation. Lawson being aroused from his sleep, came down stairs, and all three went out together. In the evening of this day—September 12—(at which time, it will be remembered, that, under delusive guidance, the alarmed and distracted wife of Morgan was engaged in her ineffectual pursuit of one who never was destined to return,)—Lawson went to the jail, and applied to Mrs. Hall, the wife of the keeper—her husband not being within at the time—for permission to see Morgan, and have some private conversation with him, for which purpose he desired to be admitted into his cell. This request was refused, and eventually Morgan was called to the door, where some conversation took place between them. Lawson informed the prisoner that he had come to pay the debt and costs, and release him ; and asked him whether, on being discharged, he would go home and stay with him that night ; to which proposition Morgan replied in the affirmative. Lawson thereupon requested Mrs. Hall to let him out, and he would satisfy the execution. But the request was declined. Her husband not being at home, Mrs. H. was properly cautious in her proceedings ; and besides, the execution being locked up in a desk, she could not ascertain the amount due. Lawson then said he would pay the amount of the execution when Mr. Hall came in ; but Morgan, being then undressed and in bed, replied that it was no matter that night—the affair might as well be left till morning. Lawson, however, insisted upon doing it that night, complaining, at the same time, of being much wearied, in consequence of having been running about for him [Morgan] all day. He then went out, as he said, to look for the jailor, and returned in about half an hour, averring that he had been at every place where it was likely he should find the keeper, but without success. He was now accompanied by a man named Foster, as he called himself, but which Mrs. Hall believed was an assumed name. She thought he was one of the prisoners on the limits. Lawson again pressed Mrs. Hall to release Morgan, proposing to leave five dollars, a sum much greater than the amount due on the execution, by way of indemnity. The proposal was again declined—the lady stating that she had understood that Morgan was a rogue—that great pains had been taken to secure him—and she did not wish to let a rogue out. Lawson pressed his request importunately, and offered to leave fifty or a hundred dollars in pledge, to bring her husband off harmless, if she consented. But she was inexorable, and he again went away.

While these proceedings were going on without the debtor's apartment, Morgan himself seems to have had some misgivings as to the motive of the proffered kindness—observing to a fellow prisoner, ‘that should that man [Lawson] prove a traitor to him, he would not give much for his life.’ The applicant soon afterwards returned once more to the jail, accompanied by Col. Sawyer, and both urged Mrs. Hall again, very strongly, to receive the money and release the prisoner. Being still resolutely refused, they went away in pursuit, as they said, of Cheseboro, whom Mrs. Hall knew as the plaintiff in the suit. On following them to the door, Mrs. H. saw two men near by, one of whom proved to be Cheseboro himself. On coming up to the jail, he directed her to let Morgan go, as these men, he said, would pay the amount of the execution, and he wanted no more of him. The money having been counted down, Mrs. Hall took the keys, and was going to release the prisoner, when Lawson interposed, and said he would go with her—stepping to the door at the same time, and giving a shrill whistle. Mrs. H., again looking out of the door herself, perceived a man, whom she had seen with Lawson at an earlier hour of the evening, coming towards the steps. On reaching the outer door of the prison, Lawson told her, as they entered, that she need not lock that after them; but there were other prisoners in custody, and she insisted upon doing it. She unlocked the door of Morgan's apartment, and Lawson, calling to him, directed him to hasten, and dress himself quickly. On coming out of the cell, Lawson took him by the arm, though not in an unfriendly or forcible manner, and they departed. Before Mrs. H. had secured the fastenings of the prison, however, she heard the cry of ‘murder,’ and hurrying to the door, saw Morgan between Lawson and the other man, who had previously approached the steps, at the signal of the whistling, struggling with all his might, and crying out in the most distressing manner. Both Lawson and the other man had hold of his arms; Morgan exerting himself in vain to get loose, and crying out until his voice was suppressed, as if by something thrust suddenly into, or placed over his mouth, or across his throat. At this time, and while they were dragging him away, Cheseboro and Sawyer were standing near by, without showing any concern in the transaction, which was passing before them. Morgan having been taken out of sight, a violent rap with a stick was made upon the curb of a well, and a carriage drove past, following in the direction taken by those who had dragged him away. Immediately after the carriage passed, Cheseboro and Sawyer went off in the same direction—the latter picking up and taking with him the hat of Morgan, which had been lost in the affray. It likewise appeared, from the evidence of a woman, who resided opposite the jail, that sundry men had been walking, sitting, and standing, about the premises, during a great part of the evening, appearing to be much engaged in consultations, which were carried on in an under-tone of voice. Among these men she recognised Cheseboro, Sawyer, and a man named Chauncey Coe. This woman likewise heard the cries of distress, as of one in perilous circumstances; and from the suspicious conduct of the persons before mentioned, had apprized her husband of her apprehensions that all was not right. After the noise upon the well-curb, she saw the carriage of Mr. Hubbard, with his gray horses—it was a bright moon-light night—driving down the street in the direction taken by the men, it being at the time empty; but it soon re-passed, taking the direction to Rochester, having several persons in it. These facts were all distinctly corroborated by other deponents. One of them, on hearing the noise, went to the door, and seeing the struggle, stepped up to Col. Sawyer, who was a little behind, and inquired what was the matter! To which he replied:—‘Nothing, only a man just let out of jail, has been taken on a warrant, and is going to be tried.’ Sawyer being a respectable man, the answer was satisfactory. The statement of Hubbard himself was, that he had been engaged by a man whom he did not know, to take a party in his carriage to Rochester, on the night in question;—he expecting them to start from Kingsley's tavern. At about nine o'clock in the evening, however, a man came and stated to him, that the party had gone down the road towards Palmyra, and would get in when he overtook them. He thereupon drove down the road past the jail, as requested, until he saw several men in the street, who directed him to stop. He did so, and five or six of them got into the car-

riage, directing him to turn round, and proceed to Rochester. Stopping but twice on the way, they arrived in Rochester at about the dawning of the day, but passed immediately through that town, and proceeded to Hanford's Landing, three miles below, where he understood it to be the desire of the party to obtain a vessel. He drove about eighty rods beyond Hanford's, towards the ridge road, where he stopped—there being no house nearer than Hanford's. His party alighted here, in the road, near to a piece of woods. He then turned about and drove back to Rochester—meeting two carriages, even thus early, one of which was of a green or cinnamon colour, and thence proceeded home—not knowing either of the party who had ridden with him; nor received any pay; nor observed any violence practised towards any one of the company.”—pp. 161-5.

The testimony of Edward Giddings, which was not elicited till long afterwards, follows out the clue to other steps in this march of violence and crime.

“Giddings was thereupon sworn. He testified, that in September, 1826, he lived at Fort Niagara, and kept the ferry. About midnight of the 12th he was called up by Col. King, who said he had got the d——d perjured scoundrel who had been revealing the secrets of Masonry; that he was bound, hood-winked, and under guard; wanted witness to take them over the river, and deliver him up to the Masons in Canada, for them to do with as they thought proper; went over the river with them; Morgan was sitting on a piece of timber when witness went out of the house; he had a handkerchief over his eyes; he was then led to the boat by two men; one had hold of each arm; was not intoxicated; appeared to be very weak; his legs were not bound; nothing was said to him before they got to the boat; one of the men, (Eli Bruce,) called for some water, and said the wretch is almost famished; there were four of us with him; five in all, including Morgan, went into the boat, viz.: Col. King, Hague, Bruce, Morgan, and witness; two of the men, when we got over, went up to the town, (Niagara.) While they were waiting in the boat, Morgan said; ‘the handkerchief pains me most intolerably;’ the man who sat in front of him felt under the handkerchief, and said, ‘it is not tight, keep silent;’ he then said, ‘gentlemen, I am your prisoner, use me with magnanimity;’ the man who sat before him pressed a pistol against his breast, and told him if he said any thing more he would shoot him. Morgan tried to put his hands into his vest pocket, and could not; witness then saw that his hands were tied behind him. In about two hours they returned with intelligence that the Canadians were not prepared to receive Morgan, whereupon he was brought back and put into the magazine. Witness had the key; went up the next morning to give him food and refreshments. They went into the porch door, and were about opening the door leading to the magazine, when Morgan said, you had better not come in, for as there are but two of you, I can defend myself against you, as I am situated; I am determined not to be bled to death. John Jackson then said, where is that pistol, is it loaded, is the flint in good order? for I will shoot the d——d rascal; this was said in a loud voice to intimidate him. Morgan then cried murder and made much noise. Witness requested a man, (John Jackson,) who was going to Lewiston, to send somebody to still Morgan. A person, (Hague,) came, and in going up to the magazine, he said, ‘I know Morgan, and he fears me as he does the devil; he will make no more noise after I see him.’ Afterwards thirty more came, of whom all returned except the six defendants. The colloquies that attended the interviews between them and their prisoner, do not seem to be material to the issue, until the evening of the 15th, when his further disposal became a matter of deliberation,—and it was at first determined to put him to death. While they were proceeding to the magazine for that purpose, under the direction of Col. King, one of them made an objection. He said he felt bound to assist, but could not approve of the deed. They concluded thereupon to defer the execution until they could send to ‘*the Grand Lodge now sitting at Jerusalem,*’ for instructions. They apprized Morgan that they had determined to send to the east for instructions what to do with him. At this interview he said he thought that by climbing up on a frame, he

could see to read, and he asked for a Bible. He also requested permission to see his wife and children; and these indulgencies were promised to him—but not granted. After leaving the Magazine, they were joined by Adams, and the manner of disposing of Morgan was again discussed. One man said by putting a rope round his body, arms and legs, and sinking him in the river, no trace of him could ever be discovered. Miller said he could prove from scripture that it was right to take his life; quoted a passage, but witness don't recollect what it was; some high words passed between King and witness, who told King he would go and release Morgan; King was in a great passion, and told witness to do it at his peril; witness then gave him up the key and told King he would have no more to do with it; he (King) took the key and gave it to another person. On the 17th, witness went to York, (U. C.) and returned on the 21st, when he was told by Col. Jewett, that 'they had murdered that man.'” pp. 497—9.

The final catastrophe of the tragedy is thus related by Mr. Stone; we could wish he had omitted the expletives which we have italicised.

“On the 19th of September, eight Masons, having finally determined to put their prisoner to death, believing, probably, that it would be safer to have a smaller number actually concerned in the execution, held a consultation as to the best mode of proceeding. The object was to select three of their number for executioners, and to have the other five excluded, and so excluded, that neither should know who else, besides himself, was thus released, or, who were the executioners. For this purpose, the following ingenious process was devised:—They placed eight tickets in a hat, upon three of which were written certain marks, and it was agreed that each one of their number should simultaneously draw a ticket. They were instantly to separate, before examining their tickets, and walk away in different directions, until entirely out of sight of each other. They were then to stop and examine the slip of paper they had drawn, and the five drawing the blanks were to return to their own homes, taking different routes, by which means neither of them would know who had drawn the fatal numbers, and of course no one of the five could be a witness against the others! The three drawing the tickets designated,—a bloody hand should have been the device,—were to return to the magazine at a certain hour, and complete the hellish design. The manner of his murder, is believed to have been by attaching heavy weights to his body, and taking him out into the middle of the stream in a boat, where, at the *black* hour of midnight, he was plunged into the *dark and angry* torrent of the Niagara!—The boat for this purpose was got in readiness by Adams, in obedience to the commands of the *vengeful* conspirators. But he, with all those deeper than himself in guilt, (excepting the villain Howard,) failing in being brought to justice in this world, has been summoned to render an account at the bar of a higher tribunal.” pp. 544—5.

Comment on details like these is unnecessary. There is no one, having the feelings of a man, and the spirit of an American, that will not contemplate the story of Morgan with mingled pity and indignation. Well might our author indulge the promptings of a full heart:—

“Such was the melancholy fate of William Morgan—a free American citizen—whose death is unavenged. He was stolen from the bosom of his family by an infamous perversion of the forms of law,—he was thrust into prison for the gratification of private malignity,—he was kidnapped under the guise of friendship,—transported like a malefactor one hundred and fifty miles through a populous country,—and executed in cold-blood (cold-blood ?) by a gang of assassins, under circumstances of as damning atrocity as ever stained the annals of human delinquency!” p. 545.

The horrible crime against humanity and the laws which has

been here set before us, was by no means discovered at once. The facts were only elicited by long and painful investigation—an investigation that would have been utterly fruitless, had common means of discovery alone been employed. In the present case the community was up in arms. The public feeling was naturally first excited in the village where Morgan had resided, but it soon extended itself far and wide, till it embraced a large part of the state of New-York. The cry for justice was loud and deep. The most vigorous measures were adopted, in different sections, for bringing the guilty to condign punishment. On the other hand, the conspirators, and we regret to add, the masonic brotherhood in general, assumed the defensive. It plainly appeared, that a systematic and determined combination existed to set at nought the power of the law.

“ But the conspirators took very efficient measures for escaping indictments even for the minor offence of the abduction. The parties suspected disappeared ; witnesses were spirited away ; and when attempts were made to procure indictments, witnesses often declined to testify, alleging that they could not do so without criminating themselves. I have already spoken of the first grand jury, after the abduction, summoned by Bruce, for the county of Niagara, of which he was sheriff. In like manner, each successive grand jury summoned by him, or under his orders, while he continued in the sheriffalty, was composed, a strong majority at least, of Masons ; and the public prosecutor of that county was also a Mason, who knew all about the affair. Hiram B. Hopkins, a Royal Arch Mason, and one of Bruce's deputies, has declared that he had directions in summoning the grand jurors, to select at least three-fourths Masons—Bruce telling him at the same time, that it would not do to have all Masons, as the device would occasion suspicion. Hopkins states that when he had inquired of them how they expected in the end to escape detection and punishment, they always assured him they were in no danger, as they would have to deal only with Masons. At the April General Sessions of Niagara county, 1827, of twenty-one persons present on the grand jury, thirteen were Masons, of whom one was subsequently found to be an important witness, and another was afterwards himself indicted as an actor in the conspiracy. It was before this jury that complaint was made against Bruce, as one of the conspirators ; and a scene of corruption took place on this examination, unsurpassed, probably, in the annals of judicial iniquity ; too flagrant, indeed, almost, for belief. Every possible effort was made by the jury, to shield Bruce. Another witness desired to be excused from giving evidence, because he was a poor man, and the fact of his giving testimony, he said, would ruin him. He was excused ! One witness, notwithstanding all the cunning in putting the questions, actually testified to Bruce's own acknowledgment of having had an agency in carrying Morgan away. Questions, which had been prepared carefully beforehand, in writing, and furnished to members of the jury, and which it was believed would elicit the truth, were not allowed to be put by the majority. The revelation before referred to, which was made to a respectable man when at work upon the Welland Canal, was testified to before this grand jury. One juror insisted that the witness should name the person who gave him this information, but he refused, and nearly, if not quite all the other jurors present, sustained the witness in his refusal, and he was allowed to retire without answering the question. It has also been stated, without contradiction, so far as I have been able to ascertain, ‘ that a series of questions, to be propounded to the witness, had been so framed, that the witnesses could answer without eliciting any dangerous information. This must have been the case, or real perjury must have been repeatedly committed, on the investigation before them. All the important witnesses, to trace the whole abduction from Rochester to

Fort Niagara, were examined before this grand jury; the same witnesses, upon whose testimony, bills were afterwards found in other cases, and convictions had. Thirteen of the witnesses examined before this grand jury, were subsequently indicted, not one of whom protected himself on the examination, on the ground that he should criminate himself. Three of them, were afterwards shown by the testimony of Eli Bruce himself, to have had a criminal agency in the abduction. Edward Giddings, in his published '*Statement of Facts*,' says he was subpoenaed before this grand jury, which much alarmed those who were implicated. One of them informed Giddings that he would go and see the foreman, and state to him Giddings's situation, that he might know how to question him, so that his answers might not injure others. He subsequently informed Giddings that he had told the foreman what Giddings knew of the affair, and that the foreman would put no question but what Giddings could safely answer.' Nay, more than all, 'while this jury was in session, the foreman took Eli Bruce privately into a side room, and was there with him some time. And this grand jury, so far from finding any indictment against Eli Bruce, or any other person, drew up a presentment to the court, that they had discovered nothing which would authorize them to find a bill against any person, and also framed and sent a memorial to the Governor, in which they stated that there was not a shadow of testimony implicating Eli Bruce, as guilty of, or accessory to, the abduction of Morgan, with the exception of one witness, who was so contradicted, and whose general reputation was so bad, that they did not place any reliance upon it.' " pp. 247—9.

As however the passage just cited relates only to a single county, we take from another part of the work a more general statement.

"It is indeed one of the most extraordinary features of this conspiracy, that, when the fatal secret must have been known, (at least with sufficient certainty to have indicated the principals,) to so many people, no disclosure should have been made of the particulars of the last terrible act of the drama. Neither the apprehensions, nor the jealousies, usually existing among partners in crime; nor the hope of reward; 'nor the compunctious visitings of conscience;' had the effect to produce any satisfactory legal disclosures, in regard to the final disposition of Morgan, after his confinement in the magazine. This fact furnishes the strongest possible illustration of the strength of the tie which bound the conspirators together, while it affords an unanswerable argument against the continuance of any social institution whatever, that can exert such a dangerous power, for evil, as well as for good, if indeed good can again flow from it.

"The difficulty of procuring testimony, was, from the beginning of the legal investigations, the greatest obstacle with which the prosecutors had to contend. Witnesses either fled the country voluntarily, or were spirited away, or were hired to absent themselves, in numbers, and with a readiness, altogether unexampled in the judicial annals of this, or perhaps any other country. Often did it happen, that, when the officers of justice had been apprized of the existence of fresh testimony, or when they had become acquainted with the place of retreat, far beyond the boundaries of our own state, of important witnesses, while they supposed the possession of such knowledge was a secret in their own bosoms, such witnesses have been secretly apprized that the officers would soon be upon them, and were thus enabled again to escape their vigilance. In other instances, have these witnesses, when caught by surprise, while in charge of the officers, been followed hundreds of miles by members of the fraternity, interested in the fate of the accused, until plans could be matured, and the means put into operation, to steal them away from their keepers. In other cases still, witnesses have no sooner agreed to make honest revelations of the facts with which they were acquainted, than they have been surrounded by their masonic brethren, and so successfully dissuaded from their good resolutions, as to become as silent and uncommunicative upon the subject as the sphynx. Examples of this description have already been noted in the progress of this history, and others might be adduced were it necessary. Money seemed to be of no value, in these

matters. Travelling agents were kept in pay, whose duty it was to visit the absconding witnesses in their places of retreat, and strengthen their integrity towards each other. Even Giddings, much as they affected to discredit his testimony, was tampered with, and money offered him to any amount he might desire, if he would leave the country.

"Nor was this all. When, after encountering every difficulty, the attendance of reluctant witnesses had been secured, their conduct, as it has already been seen, was often of the most exceptionable character. In many instances, the *manner* of the witnesses upon the stand, was painful to look upon. Whatever of truth was obtained, was absolutely wrung from them. There was not only an almost uniform evasiveness of manner, among the masonic witnesses, but numerous cases of obvious and palpable falsehood." pp. 535—6.

"The instances of peremptory refusals to testify, in the cases of Bruce, Turner and John Whitney, have already been stated, in the progress of the trials, too prominently to be soon forgotten—for which contumacy they were severally fined and imprisoned. But fines and imprisonment, for this, or for the still greater offence of having participated in the abduction, were nothing. The prisoners were cheered by their friends without, and lavishly supplied with the comforts and elegancies of life, not only by individual contributions, but by lodges and chapters, hundreds of miles from the scene of action." p. 537.

The statement here made respecting the attentions paid to the convicts during their imprisonment, seem almost incredible. Yet we observe that it is distinctly made in another part of the book, the passage being adopted by Mr. Stone, although the source is not given. After mentioning that Eli Bruce was convicted at the Ontario sessions of participation in a conspiracy to carry off Morgan, and sentenced to be imprisoned for two years and four months, he adds:—

"During the whole term of his imprisonment, he was visited by Freemasons from every part of the United States, who repaired to his cell as that of a martyr suffering for the conscientious discharge of some high and imperative duty. Notwithstanding the atrocity of his guilt, so clearly established by the testimony of his deputy and his own evidence, yet crowds daily thronged around him, testifying their sympathy and their respect. Every comfort that the laws would allow was provided for him; and even ladies of character waited upon him in person, with delicacies prepared by their own hands. The same jail has often contained Freemasons, imprisoned for debt, who were never cheered by the visits, or solaced by the sympathy, of their brethren."—p. 387.

A similar statement is made by Mr. Stone, on his own authority, respecting Orsamus Turner, who was imprisoned for contempt of court in refusing to answer when a witness on the stand.

"During Turner's confinement he was supplied by his masonic friends with every luxury that the country could furnish, and that money could procure; he was constantly visited by his masonic brethren, and their wives and daughters; and at the expiration of his term of imprisonment, was conducted from the jail to his residence in a coach and four, with attending Masons, shouting at the triumph of crime over justice!"—p. 446. note.

Masonic influence could hardly fail to be exerted upon the petit juries, when, as we have before seen, grand juries were not exempt from its operation. In the case of Wright and Brown, Mr. Stone says:—

"Judge Marcy charged the jury with great clearness and impartiality, and the cause was submitted to the jury at the close of the fourth day of the trial. The jury remained out thirty-six hours, and then came into court with a verdict

of 'NOT GUILTY'—to the astonishment alike of the Bench, the Bar, and the People. There is not—there cannot be, a particle of doubt, that both of the defendants were concerned in the abduction, though not as principals. They knew that Morgan was a free citizen under constraint—held under such constraint without legal process—and they were not only assenting to his being thus held in duress, but were aiding and assisting.

"It was understood that ten of the jurors were for convicting the defendants; but the two obstinate members solemnly declared that they would stay out and die, before they would consent to a verdict of guilty; and the ten accommodating gentlemen yielded. While the jury was out, a Mason was detected in conveying provisions, wrapped in a cloak, to the two 'faithful' members. He was arraigned before the court, and promptly punished."—p. 464.

And in the trial of Elisha Adams we have the following statement:—

"The cause was committed to the jury at about seven o'clock, on Saturday evening. On Monday morning the jury came into court, and declared that they had not agreed upon a verdict, and could not agree. Eleven of them were ready to render a verdict of guilty; but there was one who would never agree. Such being the state of the case, the court directed the dissenting juror to stand up in the jury box. He did so, and proved to be the only Mason on the panel. The jury was then discharged."—p. 501.

Nor was the combination to uphold the guilty limited to the region of the excitement. The same secret power, whose footsteps were so plainly visible on the shores of Lake Ontario, can command no less effectively on the banks of the Arkansas and the Mississippi,

"Early in the same month, (April,) Messrs. Garlinghouse and Bates, who had been despatched, as I have already stated, to the southwestern part of the territory of the United States, returned from an unsuccessful mission, and made a report of their proceedings to the acting Governor. It was known that Smith and Whitney had fled to the valley of the Mississippi. The officers went thither, but, although they often heard of the fugitives, yet they could not succeed in arresting them. Repairing to Arkansas, they were furnished by Gov. Izard with the necessary papers, with which they proceeded to cantonment Towson, upon the Red River, twelve hundred miles above its junction with the Mississippi, and arrived there on the 14th of February, 1828. 'Mr. Garlinghouse went alone, and privately presented his papers to the commander of the station, while his companion remained without the fort. He exhibited the order of the Governor—a letter from the Adjutant General of the army, under the direction of the Secretary of War—and also a letter from Col. Arbuckle, commanding officer at cantonment Gibson, and requested Capt. Hyde, then in command of the station, to furnish assistance for the arrest of King, who, it appeared, was then there. This officer refused to assist himself, or to furnish assistance, or even to furnish a guard for his removal.' He proposed, however, to send for a lieutenant to accompany the sheriff to King's store; but the officer thus sent for could not be found; and it afterwards appeared that the captain himself, during the absence of the messenger, held a conversation with the very officer for whom he had sent; and it also appeared, that, after the sheriff had obtained another officer to accompany him to the store, the lieutenant referred to, and with whom the captain had thus conversed, had already anticipated the sheriff, and taken King away into the woods. Mr. Bates was afterwards informed by the officer himself, of the fact that he did thus take King away, on learning that messengers had arrived to arrest him for the murder of Morgan, and that he had directed King's clerk to take his horse to him, where he was waiting for him in the forest. The officers who had thus favoured the escape of the fugitive, were understood to be Masons. To attempt a pursuit, in the vast wilderness of the

west, would have been a hopeless undertaking. The idea was therefore abandoned; and the messengers, after making a fruitless search, even to New-Orleans, for Smith and Whitney, returned to report the circumstances of their bootless mission."—pp. 334–5.

If the power of Masonry had only been exerted to save its votaries from punishment, after the commission of crimes into which they had been hurried unawares, something might still be said in extenuation. But, says Mr. Stone—

"It is rendered positively certain, that, so far from the abduction having been the device of a few mad-men, in a moment of passion, it was a work of deliberation, and of extensive correspondence and concert among the acting Masons, individually and collectively, over a wide space of country. This conclusion is inevitable—the facts supporting it irresistible."—p. 552.

The charitable might possibly suggest that the whole array of damning facts, of which we have exhibited a part, was only the ebullition of individual passion, and did not affect the character of organized bodies of Masons. But even this last apology is taken away by Mr. Stone.

"I do not wish to be understood, in what I am now going to say, as inculpating, or intending to inculpate, the great body of the lodges and chapters of this state, directly, as accessaries to the abduction after the fact. But I do say, that while great numbers of Masons individually, and some chapters collectively, have laid themselves open to grievous censure in this respect, the characters of all the lodges and chapters of the state have been compromised by the grand bodies in which all are supposed to be represented. In the month of February, 1827, five months after the perpetration of the crime, the Grand Chapter rejected a proposition offering a reward of one thousand dollars, for the discovery and apprehension of the authors of it: while, on the other hand, they appropriated the like sum of one thousand dollars, under the pretext of unspecified charity, but in fact to be used for the aid, comfort, and assistance of the criminals. In the month of March, of the same year, Howard, one of the murderers, by his own confession, was cherished by certain of the Masons in this city: he was kept in concealment from the officers of justice: funds were raised for him: and he was finally smuggled across Long Island, and put on board of one of the foreign packets, off Gravesend or Coney Island. In the month of June, of the same year, the sum of one hundred dollars was voted from the funds of the Grand Lodge, to Eli Bruce; and the additional sum for which he had applied, was raised for him by the brethren out of the lodge. In the autumn of the same year, the sum of one hundred dollars was appropriated from the funds of Jerusalem Chapter of this city, for the benefit of 'the western sufferers,' as the conspirators were called. Money for the same object, was raised by one of the encampments in this city; but to what amount, I have not been informed. I have likewise abundant reason to believe, that other lodges and chapters of this city, contributed to the same object;—and the sum of five hundred dollars was subsequently applied to the same benevolent purposes, by the Grand Lodge. These facts are known," &c.—pp. 554–5.

Besides their sins of commission, it would seem that there are also some of omission to be laid at the door of the Masons. For after all the judicial investigations that have taken place, in the course of which the guilt of many of the accused was placed beyond the shadow of a doubt, after the conviction and imprisonment of some, and the voluntary confession of others, after refusals to testify on the part of some witnesses, and the manifest

perjury of others, none of these guilty persons have been expelled from the Masonic lodges. "Indeed," adds Mr. Stone, "THERE HAS NEVER YET BEEN UTTERED, FROM THE WALLS OF EITHER LODGE OR CHAPTER, FROM THE HIGHEST TO THE LOWEST, AN EXPRESSION OF REAL CENSURE, OR OF HONEST INDIGNATION, AGAINST ANY INDIVIDUAL, HOWEVER CLEARLY IT MAY HAVE BEEN KNOWN THAT HE WAS ENGAGED IN DEPRIVING A FREE CITIZEN OF HIS LIBERTY, AND PUTTING HIM TO DEATH IN COLD BLOOD!"—p. 558.

Our limits admonish us to abstain from further extracts, although there is a great deal more in this book which we should gladly present to our readers, and many facts hardly less startling than those we have selected. Mr. Stone has evidently written with haste, which is betrayed by a want of condensation, and by frequent carelessness of style. But his vocabulary is ample, and his periods flowing; and the method he has adopted in narrating the gradual development of the fearful story, is in a high degree dramatic. We heartily recommend these letters to the perusal of all who feel an interest in preserving our republican institutions and our legal tribunals pure from the taint of corruption. We beg them to read with particular attention the history there given of the "Morgan trials," and we think they will then be fully prepared to acquiesce in the soundness of the reasons with which Mr. Stone sums up the whole matter, and which he has drawn from the demerits of the institution, why Masonry should be abolished in this country.

For ourselves, we are neither Masons nor Anti-masons. We have nothing in common with either, save what we share with both—the boast of citizenship, and the lot of humanity. We have no pride of opinion, no prejudice of association, to make us take part with the Masons; nor have we shared the feverish excitement which has attended the growth of Anti-masonry. We feel ourselves therefore able to decide impartially in this matter. On a calm review of the work before us, taken in connexion with the history of secret associations in other times and countries, at which we have glanced in the commencement of this article, we see no reason to exempt Freemasonry from the general condemnation which experience has passed on such institutions. In passing judgment on Masonry, we do not condemn Masons; we cannot do that, while we see upon the rolls of their lodges many of the brightest and purest names our country can boast. But not even the light of their virtues can blind us to the spots that darken the escutcheon of the society, which ranks them, often with a very dubious title, among her sons. It is our solemn and deliberate opinion, that Freemasonry, as it now stands before the American public, invested with sounding names and petty mummery, a baneful political influence, and

some ineffaceable crimes, is not merely a puerile and useless institution, far behind the spirit and intelligence of the age, but that it is also opposed by public sentiment, and is entirely inconsistent with our republican institutions; worst of all, its character is tainted by perjury and treason, its garments are stained with blood. It is therefore we desire that the institution may be abolished. If the revelations lately made of its character are full, there is surely nothing in the institution to make us wish to prolong its existence for a single day. If those revelations have not been full, then that which is still behind is either good or bad; if good, every citizen of the republic has a right to share it; if bad, let the institution be suppressed.

ART. IV.—*Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions; performed in His Majesty's ship Blossom, under the command of Captain F. W. BEECHEY, R. N. F. R. S., &c. In the years 1825, 26, 27, 28. Published by authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea: 1832.*

THE propriety of the dedication of this book to "William the Reformer," (as the present king of England has been designated,) can hardly be questioned. We believe that the English navy has been uniformly one of his majesty's chief objects of favour. Himself a sailor, and, as Captain Beechey calls him, "a working member" of the naval profession, he has always entertained for the marine of his country a peculiar fondness. Indeed, the royal house of Brunswick have shown a strong propensity to maritime expeditions and discovery. Under the auspices of George the Third, a good though weak sovereign, the interesting voyages of Cook and Vancouver were projected and prospered; and to the credit of the late king, who, with all his vices, had the liberal and expanded views of an educated gentleman, be it said, that he zealously encouraged the expeditions of Parry and of Franklin, which have shed so much light upon the geography of the Arctic regions.

We may be excused in turning for a moment from a consideration of the book before us, for the purpose of bestowing a passing tribute of deserved panegyric upon the praiseworthy liberality which has constantly characterized the British government in regard to scientific and literary productions and researches. It is perfectly well known, that but very few of the vast population of Great Britain ever purchase those expensive

scientific works, the publication of which adds so much to the permanent reputation of a nation, and contributes so effectually to the advancement of every species of knowledge. They are far beyond the limited means of the mass of the community. The literature, that is widely disseminated, consists, of necessity, of the lighter and cheaper kinds of information. Newspapers, pamphlets, periodical publications—books of comparative cheapness—must form nearly the whole of the literary circulation of the country. It falls then upon the government to extend its patronising arm, and bestow the assistance which is indispensable in such cases. That assistance the government of England has never meted with a niggardly or sparing hand. On the contrary, it has always kept in view the permanent reputation of the kingdom; and science, the arts, literature, and literary men, have there ever found the kindest reception and a home. The effect has been what the enlightened statesmen of that country anticipated and deserved. The halo that has been cast around the British Isles, and the respect and reverence which have been the necessary result of a course of conduct like this, have gone far to sustain that government amid the rude shocks to which it has been exposed. This liberal policy has adorned the old system of British administration with the graces which render age venerable, and the fact proves that it contains, amid all its defects, so much of good, that we look with no surprise upon those, who resist any, the least, change, which may possibly derange the operation of so admirable a structure. There can be no doubt, that very many and great benefits have flowed to the whole world, from the British Constitution. The great difficulty to be now overcome seems to be, to accommodate old institutions to the advanced, and still advancing, spirit of the age—to abolish what has been found to be practically bad, and to introduce that which is more consonant to the improved spirit and views of the present generation. These remarks are excusable, as the eyes of the civilized world have been recently turned, and are even now fixed upon the interesting struggle between reform and its opponents, which has been in progress in the British Isles. We may be allowed to add, that in our opinion, this country has been deficient in proper encouragement to literary men. It is true, we are a young people; and our views have been rather turned to the necessities than the elegancies of life; but there is no reason that it should continue to be the case any longer. We are, as a nation, rich; in fact, embarrassed in the disposition of our funds. Let the national government hold out substantial encouragement to the youth of America, to attain the brightest and most enduring of a nation's ornaments—literary renown—and we are sure they will receive the lasting gratitude of the country.

The object of Captain Beechey's voyage was as follows: It is

known that the discovery of a north-west passage to the Pacific had occupied for a long time the attention of the British government, and that several brilliant but ineffectual attempts, both by sea and land, had been made to ascertain its practicability. In 1824, another expedition was projected, for the purpose of attaining the long-desired object. The command of the sea-party, which was to proceed by way of Prince Regent's Inlet, was given to the famous Captain Parry, who had so distinguished himself in northern discoveries; and that of an expedition to journey by land, with the design of descending the Mackenzie river, and of coasting the northern shore of America in opposite directions towards two previously discovered points, was entrusted to the equally famous Captain Franklin, whose promptness and perseverance had been eminently manifested. It was supposed, that if either of these parties should reach the open sea at Behring's strait, it would be with resources nearly, if not quite, exhausted; and in addition, that the party of Captain Franklin would be left without the opportunity of a conveyance to Europe. It was therefore determined by the British government to send a ship to the strait, to await the arrival of the two expeditions. This gave rise to the voyage described in the book before us. The vessel selected was His Majesty's ship *Blossom*, of twenty-six guns, but carrying on that service only sixteen; and Captain F. W. Beechey was appointed to the command. On the 19th of May, 1825, the vessel sailed, well equipped; and provided with every thing which could forward observations and discoveries in botany, natural history, and other departments of science. In October, 1828, she returned to England, having been absent about three years and a half, and having sailed 73000 miles. The main object of the voyage, that of meeting with Captains Parry and Franklin, or either of them, failed, in consequence of neither of those gentlemen being able to surmount the numerous and appalling difficulties which met them in their progress. Several discoveries of small islands were, however, made by the *Blossom*; many valuable surveys of ports and harbours completed; and much useful information collected, to direct future navigators in those dangerous seas. The book cannot be called deeply interesting; the inhabitants of many of the places visited had been previously known from the statements of earlier voyagers. Yet, we may extract enough that is amusing to occupy the attention of our readers for a short time. Of the literary composition of the work we shall speak hereafter.

The first island which the ship made, in which the occurrences seem of any moment, was Pitcairn's island; here they fell in with the famous mutineers of the British ship *Bounty*. The tale of this mutiny is, probably, not unknown to our readers. As narrated by our author, who obtained his account from

the mouth of Adams, at that time sixty-five years of age, and whose name is the most familiar to us of any of the mutineers, the story possesses much interest. The ship *Bounty*, under the command of Lieutenant Bligh, was sent out by the British government in the year 1787 to Otaheite, to purchase the bread fruit of that country, and transport it to their settlements in the West Indies, and likewise to bring some specimens of it to England. After they had effected their object at Otaheite, and were on their return, visiting occasionally some of the numerous islands which deck the broad bosom of the Pacific, the disagreements which had previously existed between the commander and some of the officers, particularly a Mr. Christian, broke out afresh; and he and some others determined to take possession of the vessel. This object they accomplished on the 28th of April, 1789, and Lieut. Bligh and a part of the officers and crew were put into the launch, with a small quantity of provisions, upon the open sea. They fortunately succeeded, after great suffering and privation, in reaching Timor, whence they procured a passage for England. The mutineers, after cruising about for some time, constantly haunted by the fear of falling in with an armed vessel of their country, and anxious to select a site as remote as possible from civilization, pitched upon Pitcairn's island as the place of their retreat. Wives they had procured from Otaheite, by carrying off some of the women, whom they had invited on board under the feigned purpose of taking leave. The jealousies, the quarrels, the bloodshed, and the murders, which disfigured the first few years of the new settlement, present a striking picture, though on a small scale, of the history of mankind. Intestine commotion and destruction finally reduced the number of the mutineers to two—Young and Adams. They appear both to have been of a serious turn of mind; and taught by the experience of the dreadful scenes through which they had passed, they determined by their efforts in later life to atone for the crimes of their youth. They commenced the work of reformation by an endeavour to train up their own children, and those of their late companions, in piety and virtue. Young was a man of some education, and his efforts were not without success: he, however, did not live long enough to perfect his good intentions, and, by his death, Adams was left the sole survivor of the original party. There were then nineteen children upon the island; several of them between the ages of seven and nine; and of course favourable objects for the good intentions which Adams entertained, and had determined, though left alone, to prosecute. An obstacle to his success presented itself in the Otaheitean women, whose conversion seemed no easy task. Not dismayed, however, by the apparent difficulties of the undertaking, he steadily persevered, and his efforts were fortunately crowned with success. The

women and children imbibed a taste for scriptural knowledge, and acquired fixed habits of morality and piety—intermarriages occurred; the colony prospered, and Adams died at a good old age, respected, as he deserved to be, for the praiseworthy efforts of his later years.

We will make, from this part of the book, but one short extract: it is in regard to their devotional exercises. The earnestness with which they performed them, and the extreme care they manifested, that no part of the sermon should be lost, are edifying and amusing. We much doubt whether the plan would be acceptable even to our most church-going citizens:—

“The Sabbath day is devoted entirely to prayer, reading, and serious meditation. No boat is allowed to quit the shore, nor any work whatever to be done, cooking excepted, for which preparation is made the preceding evening. I attended their church on this day, and found the service well conducted; the prayers were read by Adams, and the lessons by Buffet, the service being preceded by hymns. The greatest devotion was apparent in every individual; and in the children there was a seriousness unknown in the younger part of our communities at home. In the course of the litany they prayed for their sovereign and royal family, with much apparent loyalty and sincerity. Some family prayers, which were thought appropriate to their particular case, were added to the usual service; and Adams, fearful of leaving out any essential part, read in addition all those prayers which are intended only as substitutes for others. A sermon followed, which was very well delivered by Buffet; *and lest any part of it should be forgotten, or escape attention, it was read three times.* The whole concluded with hymns, which were first sung by the grown people, and afterwards by the children. The service, thus performed, was very long; but the neat and cleanly appearance of the congregation, the devotion that animated every countenance, and the innocence and simplicity of the little children, prevented the attendance from becoming wearisome. In about half an hour afterwards, we again assembled to prayers, and at sunset service was repeated; so that with their morning and evening prayers, they may be said to have church five times on a Sunday.”—p. 85.

On their passage to Otaheite they discovered a small island, on which the name of Byam Martin was conferred, and which we mention merely because an interesting story is connected with some of the South Sea islanders, who were fortunately found there by the Blossom. A man named Tuwarri, with several companions, inhabitants of Chain island, which is situate about three hundred miles to the eastward of Otaheite, and tributaries to the king of the latter place, had landed upon the little isle referred to, after a voyage of extreme suffering. Upon the accession of a new king, several chiefs and commoners of Chain island, among whom was Tuwarri, undertook a voyage to Otaheite to render homage to their new sovereign. Three double canoes were prepared for the occasion. They launched forth in these small, and for such a passage, altogether unfit conveyances, with nothing but the stars for their guides, in search of a place whose situation was not accurately known, and about reaching which they had very little doubt, simply because they were aware that the voyage had been successfully prosecuted by

others. In Tuwarri's canoe there were twenty-three men, fifteen women, and ten children, with a supply of water and provisions for three weeks. All the natives assembled on the beach to witness their departure; and the canoes were pushed into the ocean, having been first placed in what was supposed a directly straight line for the island they desired to reach. They started with a fair wind and every indication of a prosperous voyage; but the sea and the winds very soon asserted their claim to the character of variableness. The monsoon began earlier than was expected. The privations and dangers consequent to exposure in an open boat on the ocean, with women and children on board, may easily be imagined. Their canoe was, at one time, becalmed, beneath a glaring sun; not a drop of water to quench the burning thirst of the voyagers—and, again, tossed with tempests, the sea continually washing over them, and their distance from home every moment increasing. Some of the weaker died; for food, the survivors were reduced to the last shocking alternative of famishing humanity. At their extremest hour of distress, Providence sent them a refreshing shower; and not long after, they reached a small verdant isle, where they remained for thirteen months. They set off, then, in search of home, and having landed upon another island, were accidentally discovered by the commander of the Blossom. The other two canoes were never heard of.

The details of barbarism are never interesting: they contain so much that is positively disgusting, that they cannot with propriety be extracted into a publication intended for general circulation. The only circumstance that makes them at all of moment, is the insight they afford into human life and character, and the variety of forms under which human nature is presented to us. There are, too, in all savage character, qualities variant only in degree, and not in kind, that stamp, therefore, upon it, the impress of sameness; and though we may behold, on the one hand, the wandering Indian, war or the chase his occupation and delight, and presenting along with the bloodthirsty qualities of the heart much that is imposing and exalted; and on the other, the filthy laziness and beastly propensities of the cannibal; yet, both the one and the other are but different modifications of the same savage nature. In regard, however, to one point, the treatment of females, the accounts possess more interest from the very nature of the subject; and we accordingly quote a passage from a notice of the natives of Bow island, which affords another instance, if such be wanting, of the effect of Christianity upon the condition of that sex, whose virtues and elegancies find their appropriate sphere in the highest walks of refinement and of cultivation.

“It appeared that the chief had three wives, and that polygamy was permitted

to an unlimited extent; any man of the community, we were told, might put away his wife, whenever it was his pleasure to do so, and take another, provided she were disengaged. No ceremony takes place at the wedding; it being sufficient for a man to say to a woman, 'You shall be my wife,' and she becomes so. The offspring of these unions seemed to be the objects of the only feelings of affection the male sex possessed, as there were certainly none bestowed on the women. Indeed the situation of the females is much to be pitied; in no part of the world, probably, are they treated more brutally. While their husbands are indulging their lethargic disposition under the shade of the cocoa-nut trees, making no effort towards their own support, beyond that of eating when their food is placed before them, the women are sent to the reefs to wade over the sharp-pointed coral in search of shell fish, or to the woods to collect pandanus-nuts. We have seen them going out at day-light on these pursuits, and returning quite fatigued with their morning toil. In this state, instead of enjoying a little repose on reaching their home, they are engaged in the laborious occupation of preparing what they have gathered for their hungry masters, who, immediately the nuts are placed before them, stay their appetites by extracting the pulpy substance contained in the outside woody fibres of the fruit, and throw the remainder to their wives, who further extract what is left of the pulp for their own share, and proceed to extricate the contents of the interior, consisting of four or five small kernels about the size of an almond. To perform this operation, the nut is placed upon a flat stone endwise, and with a block of coral as large as the strength of the women will enable them to lift, is split in pieces, and the contents again put aside for their husbands. As it requires a considerable number of these small nuts to satisfy the appetites of their rapacious rulers, *the time of the women is wholly passed upon their knees pounding nuts*, or upon the sharp coral collecting shells and sea eggs. On some occasions the nuts are baked in the ground, which gives them a more agreeable flavour, and facilitates the extraction of the pulp; it does not, however, diminish the labour of the females, who have, in either case, to bruise the fibres to procure the smaller nuts."—pp. 157–8.

With the island of Otahcite and its inhabitants, Americans are probably better acquainted than with any other in the vast Pacific; partly from the circumstance of its having been frequently visited by navigators, from the time of Captain Cook downwards, but more especially from its being a seat of our missionary labours. Since 1815 a code of laws has been drawn up by one of their kings, Pomarree II., with the assistance of the missionaries; and since 1825, a parliament has been established, to which representatives are returned by popular election. They have likewise police magistrates and officers, their system of police, according to Captain Beechey, being very strict. The simple fact, of the existence of a House of Representatives, is all that is communicated by our author: he omits any notice of what would certainly be a matter of the deepest interest, the mode in which affairs are conducted in congress, and how the system works. We have often presented to our notice such very grotesque scenes in the Chamber of Deputies in France, and occasionally even in the House of Commons in England and in our own Congress, that it would be a most amusing occupation to compare the mode in which the representative system is carried into practice by the half-savage natives of the Society Isles, with that in more civilized communities. Their penal code is very severe; though

in practice, the punishment of death has yet been inflicted upon very few.

Captain Beechey says, and if the facts which he states be so, very properly, that the system of laws introduced by the missionaries is altogether too rigid, and evinces a want of acquaintance with the history of mankind. They show an apparent anxiety to interfere with, or rather to put an entire stop to the innocent pleasures and recreations of the savages, and to force them to lead a life of austere privation. The effects have shown the impolicy of the principle adopted.

The royal party paid our author a visit; and for the purpose of introducing our readers to a new variety in the race of princes, we shall extract his account of their personal appearance.

"On the day appointed for the visit of the royal party, the duty of the ship was suspended, and we were kept in expectation of their arrival until four o'clock in the afternoon, when I had the honour of receiving a note, couched in affectionate terms, from the queen regent; to whom, as well as to her subjects, the loss of time appears to be immaterial, stating her inability to fulfil her engagement, but that she would come on board the following day. Scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed, however, from the receipt of this note, when we were surprised by the appearance of the party, consisting of the queen regent, the queen dowager and her youthful husband, and Utamme and his wife. Their dress was an incongruous mixture of European and native costumes; the two queens had wrappers of native cloth wound loosely round their bodies, and on their heads straw poked bonnets, manufactured on the island, in imitation of some which had been carried thither by European females, and trimmed with black ribbands. Their feet were left bare, in opposition to the showy covering of their heads, as if purposely to mark the contrast between the two countries whose costumes they united; and neatly executed blue lines formed an indelible net-work over that portion of the frame, which, in England, would have been covered with silk or cotton. Utamme, who, without meaning any insinuations to the disadvantage of the queen, appeared to be on a very familiar footing with her majesty, (notwithstanding he was accompanied by his own wife,) was a remarkably tall and comely man: he wore a straw hat and a white shirt, under which he had taken the necessary precaution of tying on his native maro, and was provided with an umbrella to screen his complexion from the sun. This is the common costume of all the chiefs, to whom an umbrella is now become almost as indispensable as a shirt; but by far the greater part of the rest of the population are contented with a mat and a maro."—p. 177.

We shall omit the private history of the royal family of Otaheite. It is in substance like that of all regal households. The chief incidents are, the usual proportion of wars and fightings, the succession of infants and formation of regencies, left-handed, or rather double-handed marriages, and little matters of a similar kind. The family name was derived from a hoarseness that succeeded a sore throat which one of the early kings caught in the mountains.

The queen, who was regent at the time of Beechey's visit, at one time took it into her head to levy taxes—by the by, not a strange idea for a crowned head. The *modus operandi*, one that certainly dispensed with the delays and formalities that usually attend the collection of revenue, was efficacious to forward the

main object, to wit, the filling of her majesty's exchequer. It was this. Orders were issued to all the tributary islands, to seize every vessel found trading in pearl-oyster shells, (at that time an extensive article of commerce with the Europeans,) which had not previously obtained the royal license. Unfortunately for the officers and crew of an English brig, the *Dragon*, they were found by a party of the Chain islanders, engaged in the forbidden occupation. The natives, at first, behaved in a very, apparently, friendly manner; and permitted the brig to take her cargo on board; when, under some pretence, they boarded her, and immediately commenced to bind the master and crew, sending them on shore as prisoners, and to plunder and carry away every thing valuable and movcable in the vessel. They then went to church to return thanks for the victory; and after divine service, these converted savages debated whether the master should not be put to death and eaten—a fate which he very narrowly escaped. The English consul, when he complained of the outrage, was only laughed at by the queen. The *Blossom*, however, taught them a different lesson—restitution was demanded and obtained. Her majesty was very much out of humour at being forced to abandon her new mode of filling her pockets; but was restored to her complacency by listening to the beating of a drum.

The mode of trial of offenders and the appearance of the court are thus detailed. The court was ranged upon benches, and the prisoners were placed in front, under the charge of an officer with a drawn sword; the *aava-rai* of the district where the crimes were committed, (an officer whose duties are not clearly defined, but whom we should conjecture to be a sort of half-prothonotary and half-policeman,) took his station between the court and the prisoners, and was thus habited when seen by Captain Beechey.

“He was dressed in a long straw mat, finely plaited, and edged with fringe, with a slit cut in it, for the head to pass through; a white oakum wig, which, in imitation of the gentlemen of our courts of law, flowed in long curls over his shoulders, and a tall cap surmounting it, curiously ornamented with red feathers, and with variously coloured tresses of human hair. His appearance, without shoes, stockings, or trousers, the strange attire of the head, with the variegated tresses of hair mingling with the oakum curls upon his shoulders, produced, as may be imagined, a ludicrous effect.”

The prisoner was brought up, accused of stealing a gown from an European—the law was read to him by the *aava*, and the culprit, as our author remarks, “saved a great deal of trouble” by pleading guilty. He was fined four hogs; two to the king, and two to the person from whom the property was stolen. As bail is not demandable, he was allowed, after sentence, to go where he could easiest beg, or some how or other procure the requisite quantity of hogs.

It was the lot of our author to be present at another trial in which he was more interested, as a part of the ship's stores and of the wearing-apparel of the officers had been stolen. It was conducted in the same manner. The prisoners were cross-examined; but the evidence against them was only circumstantial—sufficient, however, to induce five of the six chiefs to pronounce them guilty. As the judges could not agree, the matter was referred to the captain, who proposed, in order to deter others from the commission of like offences, that they should suffer some corporal punishment. This was contrary to their laws; the penalty prescribed being a restitution of four-fold the value; a poor satisfaction, where, as in that case, the articles could not be replaced. The prisoners escaped punishment: and Captain Beechey, as we think, pays a very equivocal compliment to their code, when he says that their fate was very different from what it would have been before the introduction of Christianity, when a dreadful punishment would have been inflicted—though, he admits it as very probable, that then the thief would have been discovered; whereas, as things went, he never was caught.

The queen dowager was very fond of raw fish; and was in the habit of eating it in order to give herself an appetite for her regular meals. As the captain was, one day, sitting down to dinner, the interpreter, Jim, came to him with her majesty's compliments, "and she would be very much obliged by a little rum." One day, he missed her suddenly from the cabin, and upon looking over the stern of the ship, he saw her very quietly seated in a boat at her favourite repast.

From these anecdotes of the "first society" of Otahcite, our readers may judge of the manners of other less favoured individuals. From the account of our author, they must be very little improved, either in manners or morals, (we speak of the general mass,) by their, so called, conversion to Christianity. We do not wish to undervalue missionary labours: very far from it—and we pretend to no particular knowledge on the subject, other than what is derived from the book before us—but if that be correct, the conclusion we have stated inevitably follows. It is Captain Beechey's opinion. From his account, the acquaintance of the natives with the scriptures must be very limited. They seem to consider the bible, and other religious books, as household gods. When a riot occurred, they deposited them secretly in a place of safety, saying, that so long as these sacred volumes were safe, they were indifferent about the fate of themselves or their property.

The missionaries, as before stated, have suppressed their dancing, singing, and music, and thus they have been led to attach ideas, in some degree, of pain and punishment, to the introduction of the new religion. Another evil has followed: they are

passionately fond of recreation, and require much relaxation; being without amusements, they pass much of their time in idleness and sensuality. No manufactures have been established, in addition to those in use when the island was discovered. In truth, there was a general appearance of apathy and indifference. We omit extracting many passages and scenes tending to show the utter and debasing immorality of even the better classes of the people—they prove that much is wanting before the inhabitants can be worthy of the name of Christian.

In July, 1826, the ship approached Behring's strait, on her progress to her destination, and the passage in which the incident is mentioned, is extremely well written, and the more worthy of being extracted, as the book does not abound in specimens of fine writing.

"We approached the strait which separates the two great continents of Asia and America, on one of those beautiful still nights, well known to all who have visited the Arctic regions, when the sky is without a cloud, and when the mid-night sun, scarcely his own diameter below the horizon, tinges with a bright hue all the northern circle. Our ship, propelled by an increasing breeze, glided rapidly along a smooth sea, startling from her path flocks of lumes and doves, and other aquatic birds, whose flight could, from the stillness of the scene, be traced, by the ear, to a considerable distance."—p. 212.

She was a long time detained skirting the shores of the two continents, and visiting the islands in the straits.

The fondness for dancing, which is a peculiar characteristic of savage tribes, seems to be perfectly in accordance with the taste of the Esquimaux, who roam over the whole of the north-western coast of America. This amusement they introduced at all times, and old and young participated in it.

"After some few exchanges, the advantage of which was on the side of our new acquaintances, who had nothing curious to part with, an old man produced a tambourine, and seating himself upon the roof of one of the miserable hovels, threw his legs across, and commenced a song, accompanying it with the tambourine, with as much apparent happiness as if fortune had imparted to him every luxury of life. The vivacity and humour of the musician inspired two of the old hags, who joined chorus, and threw themselves into a variety of attitudes, twisting their bodies, snapping their fingers, and smirking from behind their seal-skin hoods, with as much shrewd meaning as if they had been half a century younger. Several little chubby girls, roused by the music, came blinking at the daylight through the greasy roofs of the subterranean abodes, and joined the performance; and we had the satisfaction of seeing a set of people happy, who did not appear to possess a single comfort upon earth."—p. 230.

In dress, like more polished females, the miserable dirty tribes of the arctic regions indulged a great variety of taste, and displayed much ingenuity and imagination. The materials, to be sure, differed—but the same attention to the subject, and desire to attract notice by the appearance of singularity, prevailed. The young Esquimaux ladies, referred to in the following paragraph, may, when dispassionately judged of, appear not to have wandered further from propriety in this respect, than those who, in

refined communities, carried enormous hoops beneath their dresses, or have converted a sleeve from its original intention of being a covering merely for the arm, into one for nearly the whole body.

"We remarked in two of the young ladies, a custom, which, when first discovered, created considerable laughter. When they moved, several bells were set ringing, and on examining their persons, we discovered that they had each three or four of these instruments under their clothes, suspended to their waists, hips, and one even lower down, which was about the size of a dustman's bell, but without a clapper. Whether they had disposed of them in this manner as charms, or through fear, it was impossible to say; but by their polished surface, and the manner in which they were suspended, they appeared to have long occupied these places. They were certainly not hung there for convenience, as the large one, in particular, must have materially incommoded the ladies in their walking."

When the vessel had proceeded as far north as the ice permitted, it was determined to man the boat, and send her forth for the purpose of penetrating still further to the north, and skirting the shore, to effect, if possible, a communication with Captain Franklin. The narration of the expedition of the boat possesses interest; more especially from a knowledge of the fact which was afterwards obtained, that they approached to the distance of one hundred and forty-six miles from the place to which that traveller had penetrated. They endured many hardships; the boat was beset by the ice—tossed in a terrific gale; and the commander and crew were in imminent danger of losing their lives. They met with numerous wandering Esquimaux, who did not seem surprised at the sight of Europeans; but as if conscious of superiority, attempted, what we believe is contemplated by all barbarous tribes in their dealings with the whites, to cheat their civilized visitors in bargaining.

Having met with no success in their first attempt, and the season compelling a return from the cold regions of the north, it was necessary to look out for a port in which to refit, lay in provisions, and recruit the exhausted strength of the crew. Captain Beechey selected the harbour of San Francisco, in California; and as it introduces us to a country, we believe but little known here, and presents us with additional information upon a subject of great interest, that we have before touched upon, we mean the conversion of the Indians, we shall devote a short time to a consideration of this part of the work.

We must confess, that heretofore, whether in attempts at civilization or conversion, the whites have been unfortunate in their intercourse with savages. Whatever may be the reason of the fact, or the design of Providence in its existence, it seems certain that the poor Indians are any thing but improved by intercourse with more civilized persons. Every advance in refinement necessarily brings with it an acquaintance with vices which seem to follow steadily in its track; and those are the very vices

which savages at once embrace, because they address themselves to their sensual inclinations. Intemperance is the chief of these; and it would seem to be a melancholy truth, that the devastating influence of this destroyer has been one of the main evidences of the foot of the white man having intruded itself on the solitude of the savage forests. Without a miracle, which is not now to be looked for, we should suppose that great length of time, and almost a total change of character is wanting, before the mind of the Indian can be brought to understand the truths of Christianity. These barbarians, it must be recollected, are as ignorant as human beings can possibly be, and of consequence, superstitious and idolatrous. To understand and appreciate the truths of our holy religion, these imperfections must be remedied effectually; and it would seem, from sad experience, that to succeed at all, the work must be commenced with children, whose minds may be gradually enlightened as their senses expand, until, in progress of time, they are enabled to comprehend the wonders of revelation. However this may be, one thing is undoubted, that the conversion of the adult inhabitants of the Sandwich and Society islands, has been but in name; and that debasing superstition still deforms the fair face of nature in that region. We do not pretend to point out a plan to be pursued in designs of this nature, but certain we are, that that adopted by the good fathers of California is any but the right one.

In upper California there are twenty-one missions, (as these establishments are called,) which contain about seven thousand converts. To the south of Soledad the Indians in the missions are calculated at twenty thousand. Each mission has about fifteen square miles of ground attached to it, and also a church. Two priests of the mendicant order of San Francisco, have the charge of each establishment. The object of the missions is to convert as many wild Indians as possible, and teach them a trade. We do not now mean to speak of the value to the government of these missions, in a political or economical point of view; but simply of the plan, and its effects in reference to making Christians out of these poor savages. The produce of the land and the labour of Indians is appropriated to the support of the mission; and the surplus is at the disposal of the padres. Thus they have a direct pecuniary interest in the increase of converts. From this cause, therefore, and indeed from the natural tendency of the human mind, the good of the establishment and the increase of wealth are objects more attended to, than the spread of the pure principles of the gospel. Money, not the good of religion, must be the motive. It is a connexion, of the worst kind, between church and state; and the consequences are easily perceivable. We will extract the account of the manner of their

conversion; it is interesting, and proves the truth of what we have said.

"Immediately the Indians are brought to the mission, they are placed under the tuition of some of the most enlightened of their countrymen, who teach them to repeat in Spanish the Lord's Prayer, and certain passages in the Romish litany; and also to cross themselves properly on entering a church. In a few days, a willing Indian becomes a proficient in these mysteries, and suffers himself to be baptized and duly initiated into the church. If, however, as it not unfrequently happens, any of the captured Indians show a repugnance to conversion, it is the practice to imprison them for a few days, and then to allow them to breathe a little fresh air in a walk round the mission, to observe the happy mode of life of their converted countrymen; after which they are again shut up, and thus continue to be incarcerated until they declare their readiness to renounce the religion of their forefathers."—"A person acquainted with the language of the parties, of which there are sometimes several dialects in the same mission, is then selected to train them, and having duly prepared them, takes his pupils to the padre to be baptized and to receive the sacrament. Having become Christians, they are put to trades, or if they have good voices, they are taught music, and form part of the choir of the church. Thus there are in almost every mission, weavers, tanners, shoemakers, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artificers. Others again are taught husbandry, to rear cattle and horses; and some to cook for the mission; while the females card, clean, and spin wool, weave and sew; and those who are married attend to their domestic concerns." p. 302.

When converted, they are then to be instructed.—We have here the mode—

"Those who were taken to the mission were immediately converted, and were daily taught by the neophytes to repeat the Lord's Prayer, and certain hymns in the Spanish language. I happened to visit the mission about this time, and saw these unfortunate beings under tuition; they were clothed in blankets, and arranged in a row before a blind Indian, who understood their dialect, and was assisted by an Alcalde to keep order. Their tutor began by desiring them to kneel, informing them that he was going to teach them the names of the persons composing the Trinity, and that they were to repeat in Spanish what he dictated."

The neophytes being thus arranged, the speaker began—

"*Santissima Trinidad, Dios, Jesu Christo, Espiritu Santo*—pausing between each name, to listen if the simple Indians, who had never heard a Spanish word before, pronounced it correctly or any thing near the mark. After they had repeated these names satisfactorily, their blind tutor, after a pause, added—'*Santos*,' and recapitulated the names of a great many saints, which finished the morning's tuition."—"They did not appear to me to pay much attention to what was going forward, and I observed to the padre, that I thought their teachers had an arduous task; but he said they had never found any difficulty; *that the Indians were accustomed to change their own Gods, and that their conversion was in a measure habitual to them.*"

The idea of habitual conversion is certainly a novel one.

An expedition was undertaken, during our author's stay, against the Indians, to revenge a supposed aggression, which was, in fact, nothing more than an anticipation on their part of a meditated assault by the Spaniards. The account is such a mixture of bombast and barbarity, the authors apparently unconscious of it, that we must be excused for extracting the greater part.

"Journal kept by a citizen, Jose Antonio Sanchez, ensign of cavalry of the

presidio of San Francisco, during the enterprise against the gentiles, called Cosmenes, for having put to death the neophytes of the mission of San Jose."

It was written with gunpowder on the field of battle!

"On the morning of the 20th the troop commenced its march, and after stopping to dine at Las Positas, reached the river San Joachin at 11 o'clock at night, when it halted. This day's march was performed without any accident, except that neighbour Jose Ancha was nearly losing his saddle. The next day the Alferes determined to send forward the auxiliary neophytes to construct rafts for the troops to pass a river that was in advance of them. The troop followed, and all crossed in safety; but among the last of the horses that forded the river, was one belonging to soldier Leandro Flores, who lost his bridle, threw his rider, and kicked him in the face and forehead; and as poor Flores could not swim, he was in a fair way of losing his life before he came within sight of the field of battle; assistance was speedily rendered, and he was saved. As Sanchez wished to surprise the enemy, he encamped until dusk, to avoid being seen of the wild Indians, who were travelling the country; several of whom were met and taken prisoners. At five, they resumed their march, but neighbour Ghexbano Chaboya being taken ill with a pain in his stomach, there was a temporary halt of the army; it however soon set forward again, and arrived at the river of Yachicume at eleven at night, with only one accident; occasioned by a horse of neighbour Leandro Flores again throwing up his heels and giving him a formidable fall." p. 308.

The only other misfortunes they met with before arriving at the battle-ground, were the running away of two horses, which it distressed them very much to catch, and the bursting of the gun of soldier Jose Maria Garnez, which inflicted a mortal wound in his forehead—but the misfortune, it is gravely asserted, did not hinder the other soldiers from firing. When they came to the fight, the poor Indians suffered much. The party was divided into two bodies. One took charge of the booty and prisoners, amounting to forty-four souls, mostly women:

"The other party went with the veteran Sanchez, to the rancheria, to reconnoitre the dead bodies, of which he counted forty-one, men, women, and children. They met with an old woman there, the only one that was left alive, who was in so miserable a state, that they showed their compassion *by taking no account of her.*"

The *converts* that were made, were supposed to counterbalance the many barbarities which this marauding party inflicted upon the almost defenceless natives.

The religion of the Californians is idolatrous, like that of all other wild tribes. They worship the sun, and believe in the existence of good and bad spirits. When one dies, they adorn the corpse in a fanciful manner, and place a bow and arrows along with it. They burn the dead body, and while it is in the act of consuming, they shout aloud, and wish the soul of the departed a pleasant journey.

The government of California is miserable indeed: and the idleness and ignorance of the people very great. There is no public spirit among them. They were living amidst forests of pine and upon the sea-coast, and yet, our author says, they were buying salt and deal boards at exorbitant prices. So they were

purchasing otter skins at twenty dollars a piece, whilst the animals were swimming about unmolested in their own harbours; and buying them, too, from the Russians, who are intruders upon the coast, and are depriving them of a lucrative trade.

Husbandry is in a very backward state. As many as seventy ploughs and two hundred oxen have been set to work upon light ground of not more than ten acres. In fact, there is no people who would appear to stand more in need of the spirit of reform to be at work amongst them, than the inhabitants of California.

While at San Francisco, it was necessary for Captain Beechey to send an expedition over land to Monterey, to endeavour to obtain supplies for the ship. Three of the officers went on the journey. They saw much of the interior of the country; and their remarks in relation to it are instructive. With the good padres at the head of the different missions at which they stopped, they were extremely pleased. They received from them the hospitable welcome, and the good cheer so refreshing to the mind as well as the body of the weary traveller. With padre Arroyo, the chief of the mission of San Juan, we must make our readers acquainted.

"This worthy man was a native of Old Castile, and had resided in California since 1804, dividing his time between the duties of his holy avocation, and numerous ingenious inventions. Supper was served in very acceptable time to the fatigued visitors, and the good natured padre used every persuasion to induce them to do justice to his fare; treating them to several appropriate proverbs, such as: 'Un dia alegre vale cien anos de pesadumbre.'—(One day of mirth is worth a hundred days of grief), and many more to the same purpose. Though so many summers had passed over his head in exile, his cheerfulness seemed in no way diminished, and he entertained his guests with a variety of anecdotes of the Indians, and of their encounters with the bears, too long to be repeated here. Nor was his patriotism more diminished than his cheerfulness; and on learning that one of the party had been at the siege of Cadiz, his enthusiasm broke forth in the celebrated Spanish patriotic song of 'Espana de la guerra,' &c. Having served them with what he termed the *vialico*, consisting of a plentiful supply of cold picole beans, bread and eggs, he led the party to their sleeping apartment, amidst promises of horses for the morrow, and patriotic songs of his country, adapted to the well known air of Malbrook."

This worthy old gentleman, distressed at a view of the dangers he supposed his new friends incurred from being heretics, actually contrived to keep them a day or two at the convent, for the purpose of converting them, and was really mortified and worried at his bad success. He dismissed them with great reluctance; and when they returned, on their way back to San Francisco, he made the attempt a second time. The following amusing anecdote is related of the worthy padre's simplicity.

"A youthful Indian couple who had conceived an affection for each other, eloped one day, that they might enjoy each other's society without reserve in the wild and romantic scenery of the forest. Soldiers were immediately sent in pursuit, when, after a week's search, the fugitives were brought back; upon which, padre Arroyo, to punish their misbehaviour, incarcerated them together, and kept them thus confined until he thought they had expiated their crime."

As the interior of California is not much known to us, we shall make a few extracts from that part of the work which details the journey of the officers above alluded to. They set forth under the escort of a Californian dragoon, the description of whose costume and equipments is thus described in a very picturesque manner by our author :

"His dress consisted of a round blue cloth jacket, with red cuffs and collar; blue velvet breeches, which, being unbuttoned at the knees, gave greater display to a pair of white cotton stockings, cased more than half-way in a pair of deer-skin boots. A black hat, as broad in the brim as it was disproportionately low in the crown, kept in order, by its own weight, a profusion of dark hair, which met behind, and dangled half-way down the back in the form of a thick queue. A long musket, with a fox skin bound round the lock, was balanced upon the pommel of the saddle; and our hero was further provided for defence against the Indians with a bull's hide shield, on which, notwithstanding the revolution of the colony, were emblazoned the royal arms of Spain, and by a double-fold deer skin cuirass as a covering for his body. Thus accoutred, he bestrode a saddle, which retained him in his seat by a high pommel in front and a corresponding rise behind. His feet were armed at the heels with a tremendous pair of iron spurs, secured by a metal chain; and were thrust through an enormous pair of wooden box-shaped stirrups. Such was the person into whose charge our shipmates were placed by the governor, with a passport which commanded him not to permit any person to interfere with the party, either in its advance or on its return, and that it was to be escorted from place to place by a soldier."—p. 316.

After leaving Francisco a short distance, the party got out of the only section of country which is wooded for any considerable distance, and ascending a chain of hills about one thousand feet in height, had an extensive and magnificent view of the country, the sea being visible in the distance. The ridge of hills which afforded this fine prospect, was called Sierra de San Bruno, for the most part covered with a burnt up grass. After leaving the high ground, the travellers journeyed, with much more comfort to themselves and their horses, upon a plain called Las Salinas, most probably from the circumstance of its being occasionally overflowed by the sea.

"The number of wild geese," says Captain Beechey, "which frequent it is quite extraordinary, and indeed would hardly be credited by any one who had not seen them covering whole acres of ground, or rising in myriads with a clang that may be heard at a very considerable distance. They are said to arrive in California in November, and to remain there until March. Their flesh in general is hard and fishy, but it was reported by padre Luis Gil, of the mission of Santa Cruz, that those which have yellow feet are exceptions to this, and are excellent eating. The blackbirds are almost equally numerous, and in their distant flight resemble clouds. Among the marshes there were also a great many storks and cranes, which in San Francisco have the reputation of affording a most delicious repast."—p. 317.

They soon after reached San Matheo; and the contrast between the dwellings and the noble appearance of the country is very striking. It was a wide expanse of meadow land, with clusters of fine oak free from underwood.

"It strongly resembled a nobleman's park; herds of cattle and horses were

grazing upon the rich pasture, and numerous fallow-deer, starting at the approach of strangers, bounded off to seek protection among the hills. The resemblance, however, could be traced no further. Instead of a noble mansion, in character with so fine a country, the party arrived at a miserable mud dwelling, before the door of which a number of half-naked Indians were basking in the sun. Several dead geese, deprived of their entrails, were fixed upon pegs around a large pole, for the purpose of decoying the living game into snares, which were placed for them in favorable situations. Heaps of bones, also, of various animals, were lying about the place, and sadly disgraced the park-like scenery around."—p. 318.

We could not help remarking, in reading the above passage, and in fact all that our author has said about this fine country, how different a scene would be presented were that extensive region under the government of our republic! The Indians would either become gradually amalgamated with the whites, or if such be their destiny, ere long disappear before the advancing march of civilization. The stroke of the hardy yeoman's axe would resound through the forest—deserts would, in a short time, be turned into cultivated fields—the waving grain would decorate the plains—and instead of fortified "missions," and convents, and armed dragoons, we should behold the humble but comfortable dwellings of our sturdy farmers, and themselves peaceably pursuing their ordinary and quiet occupations.

After leaving this spot, they arrived at another where they would certainly have rested themselves, had not the name of the place, Las Pulgas, (fleas,) frightened them away. These, by the by, are very numerous throughout the country, occasioned probably by the great filth of the inhabitants. Indeed nothing seems to be more remarkable throughout the region we are describing, than the difference between the appearance of the inhabitants and their noble country. It was animated with herds of cattle, horses, and sheep grazing, and the shrubbery which was met with, afforded a retreat to numerous coveys of Californian partridges, which are most excellent food, and so tame as to scarcely start when a stone was hurled at them.

Santa Clara, distant about forty miles from San Francisco, is situated in an extensive plain, and contains a church, the dwelling house of the priests, and five rows of buildings for the accommodation of fourteen hundred Indians. The herds of cattle amount to ten thousand in number, and the horses to about three hundred. In the plain around, troops of jackals prowl in the most daring manner, and make it resound with their melancholy howlings. Olives and grapes are abundant; and the padres are enabled to make an abundance of good wine.

A beautiful avenue of trees, nearly three miles long, leads from this mission to the pueblo of San Jose, the largest settlement of the kind in Upper California. It contains five hundred inhabitants, retired soldiers and their families, who style themselves *Gente de Razon*, to be distinguished from the Indians,

whom these enlightened people hold in great contempt. The houses are of mud, miserably made.

While journeying along, after they had left this place, their guide suddenly left them to chase a wild mountain cat—the skin of the animal is very valuable. He did not succeed in catching it. But two were afterwards shot and their skins preserved, for the purpose of being brought to England: though, unfortunately, a man who had charge of them stole them, and disposed of these and other specimens to his own advantage.

At the mission of San Juan, the party visited about thirty huts of the Indians of the tribe of Toolerayos, who had been newly converted.

“Their tents were about thirty-five feet in circumference, constructed with pliable poles fixed in the ground, and drawn together at the top, to the height of twelve or fifteen feet. They are then interwoven with small twigs, and covered with bulrushes, having an aperture at the side to admit the inhabitants, and another at the top to let out the smoke. The exterior appearance of these wretched wigwams greatly resembles a bee-hive. In each dwelling were nine or ten Indians of both sexes, and of all ages, nearly in a state of nudity, huddled around a fire kindled in the centre of the apartment, a prey to vermin, and presenting a picture of misery and wretchedness seldom beheld in even the most savage state of society. They seemed to have lost all the dignity of their nature, and even the blackbirds had ceased to regard them as human beings, and were feeding in flocks among the wigwams.”—p. 322.

This was said to be the state in which the Indians generally lived; and it appeared that these poor people had voluntarily come for the purpose of being converted. A remarkable contrast, it is proper to remark, was presented in beholding those who had been a considerable time at the mission. It was a holiday, and they seemed both contented and in fine spirits with the amusement of which they were partaking.

The Captain and his officers soon got tired of his detention in California; and their ennui was increased by a circumstance that must have sorely disappointed the whole of them. The partiality of Englishmen for fights of all kinds is proverbial; cock-fighting and dog-fighting delight them—how enchanting, then, a combat between a bull and a bear! Such an event was to take place at San Francisco, and the Captain's heart beat high with anticipation. It reminded him of “home, sweet home,” though distant thousands of miles. To the bitter mortification of the whole crew, the fight was postponed to some future period, until some bear, more unlucky than that selected for the Captain's entertainment, should permit himself to be caught: the one in question was too cunning and too fierce for the party sent after him.

In no good humour, then, they left California; and sailed for the Sandwich Islands. They anchored in the harbour of Honoruru the capital of the Island of Owyhee. These isles are superior to the Society Isles in civilization. A sketch of their history is given by our author. One of their kings, Tamehameha, is placed

in a parallel, (we doubt its correctness,) with Alfred and Peter the Great. He was, however, not an ordinary man; and was assisted by the counsels of his prime minister, Krymakoo, familiarly called Billy Pitt, who seems to have been really a man of talents. They laboured hard to civilize their countrymen. When the king died, so beloved was he, that many of his subjects committed suicide—others knocked out their front teeth, and some were even sacrificed by the priests in the morais. This was in 1819. The next year, some missionaries arrived. Krymakoo became a convert to the Christian religion, and most of the chiefs followed his example. The discipline of the missionaries, here, as in the Society Isles, was very rigid, and gave rise to quarrels and insurrections. 'Too much of the natives' time appears to have been taken up in attending school to the neglect of their work. These dissensions prevailed at the period of Captain Beechey's visit. It is known that Rio Rio, the brother of the king of the Island during our author's stay, and his queen, paid a visit to England, and died there. They were accompanied by several of the chiefs; many of whom had imbibed a taste for European customs. The captain gave them a dinner, which he describes as follows:

"Amidst this conflicting interest of parties, we were gratified to observe the cordiality between the chiefs and the English and American residents, neither of whom took part in these state quarrels. To strengthen this feeling, a public dinner was given by the officers of the Blossom and myself to the king and all the royal family, the consuls, the chiefs, and the principal merchants resident in the place. On this occasion, the king was received with the honours due to his rank. He was dressed in full uniform, and altogether made a very elegant appearance. His behaviour at table was marked with the greatest propriety, and though he seemed fully aware of the superiority of Europeans, he appeared at the same time conscious that the attentions he received were no more than a just tribute to his rank. Boki, the regent, Koanou, the colonel of the troops, and Manuia, the captain of the port, were dressed in the Windsor uniform; and Kahumana, and the two female chiefs next in rank, were arrayed in silk dresses, and had expended a profusion of lavender water upon their cambric handkerchiefs. Many loyal and patriotic toasts succeeded the dinner, some of which were proposed by Boki, in compliment to the king of England and the President of the United States, between both of whom, and his royal protégé, he expressed a hope that the warmest friendship would always subsist. The chiefs drank to the health of several persons who had shown them attention in London, and in compliment to the ladies of England, proposed as a toast "The pretty girls of the Adelphy." Throughout the day the islanders acquitted themselves very creditably, and their conduct showed a close observance of European manners." p. 355.

The description of the entertainment is quite in "anniversary" style; and, we think the sentiment of the savages about the fair sex, quite as good as those with which our land is inundated, on the same subject, on the fourth of July.

While there, in February 1827, Krymakoo died—his character is well sketched by our author—he enjoyed an immense influence with his countrymen, and used it invariably for their

own good; to his exertions, the missionaries are in a great measure, under Providence, indebted for the good that has been effected in the Island of Owyhee. In the instance of a serious tumult, in which his own house had by mistake been burned by the crew of an American vessel, and when the natives in great crowds hurried to avenge the loss their favourite had sustained, by his persuasions, and by his candour and moderation, the riot was quelled, and the crew of the vessel saved most probably from massacre.

We cannot take our leave of these islands, in the account of which so much is said by all writers about kings, queens, princesses, regents, nobility, &c., without expressing an opinion of the ridicule cast upon royalty, when associated with such possessors of the title—eaters of raw fish—drinkers of rum, in both sexes—and more especially in the softer sex—those who were so much delighted with any thing pretty, that they immediately laid their hands upon it, and appropriated it to themselves. Our author's account of the females of these islands is amusing—barbarism, in their case, emphatically walks hand in hand with civilization—so far at least, as that is embraced in wearing fine clothes; for instance, p. 361, our author says:—

“In every uncivilized country, which has as much foreign intercourse as Woahoo, incongruities must be of frequent occurrence; thus we were daily in the habit of seeing ladies disencumber themselves of their silks, slippers, and parasols, and swim off in fine style to different vessels, carrying their bundles on their heads, and resuming their finery when they got on board. Nor was it less amusing to observe them jump overboard soon after daylight, and continue sporting and swimming about the vessels in the harbour like so many Nereids; practices to which they adhere with as much fondness as ever. Many, however, now think it necessary to put on a bathing gown when they take this recreation.”

Captain Beechey visited Loo Choo; a name familiar to many, from the famous account of it sent forth by the no less famous Captain Basil Hall, that most veracious of journalists. It is well known that our distinguished countryman Mr. Duponceau, corrected the traveller in one of his numerous blunders concerning the language of the inhabitants of Loo Choo. Our author, in a very short paragraph, and in a very cavalier way, undertakes to point out several mistakes in Mr. Duponceau's observations. We do not pretend to pass any opinion upon this subject: but we would rather adopt the views of the enlightened scholar and distinguished gentleman and linguist, to whom we have referred, than that of the two captains in the royal navy, neither of whom is celebrated as a scholar, though we do not call either of them remarkably deficient. We are perfectly safe, therefore, in leaving the controversy, if it should be thought proper to revive it, in such able hands as those of Mr. Duponceau.

We shall not detain our readers with any details of this island. It may suffice to remark that our author shows the inaccuracy of

two commonly entertained opinions; viz. that the inhabitants use no money, and have no weapons of war. It appears that their money is the common *cash* of the Chinese—and that like all other nations they carry arms.

Their religion may be judged of from the following dialogue which took place between the captain and a native of Loo Choo.

“God created and constantly governs all things.” “Englishman’s god—yes.” “When God created the great progenitor of all men, he was perfectly holy and perfectly happy?” “No.”—“The first ancestor of the human race sinned against God, and all his descendants are naturally depraved, inclined to evil and averse from good?” “Good.”—“If men’s hearts be not renewed, and their sins atoned for, they must after death suffer everlasting misery in hell?” “Priest say so: *An-yah* not think so.” Do the three sects believe in metempsychosis?”

This was not understood; we should have scarcely supposed that a sensible man would have used a Greek word in conversation with a Loo Chooan. In fact, we doubt whether several others of the questions were comprehended. “Do they believe that all things are appointed by heaven?” “Yes”—“Are there any Athiests in Loo Choo?”—“Many.”

The debased condition of the priesthood in China is a surprising but undoubted fact. The priests of their religion are taken from the lowest classes of the vilest wretches among them. It is the same in Loo Choo. Their unfortunate condition is truly pitiable—they are universally scorned and insulted. Captain Beechey remarks, that he never beheld a more unintellectual and care-worn class of men. And yet they are consulted as oracles by all classes. To what strange inconsistencies is man subject, unless directed and enlightened by divine aid!

In one point, the Loo Chooans are fit models for all—we mean in politeness. In this respect they are superior even to the French. It was not confined to any class or rank—but all, high and low, rich and poor, exhibited it.

In accordance with his instructions, Captain Beechey made a second voyage to Behring’s Strait, but was not more successful than in the first. Captain Franklin and his party were not found. It has been already stated, how nearly they approached each other—being distant only one hundred and forty-six miles—and, of course, but a very small part of the North-West coast of the American continent has been unexplored. This design is, in our author’s opinion, practicable—and some fortunate navigator, with favourable coincidences of weather, may possibly, at some period or other, succeed; but, we may ask, *cui bono*? we mean in a practical point of view. The north-west passage can never become a medium of commerce. If so many well appointed expeditions have failed, “with such appliances and means to boot,” how can it be hoped, that ordinary vessels, with ordinary accommodations, can overcome the many difficulties of the undertaking? It must be admitted, that much good has been done

to the cause of science from the attempts—important discoveries in navigation, botany, natural history, &c., have been made. Of these, our author performed his full part, and merits for them a large share of praise.

The work of Captain Beechey will not be read with any very great interest by those to whom the voyages of Cook, La Peyrouse, Vancouver and Parry are familiar. It is, in many respects, another edition of those works, without the freshness which made them so enchanting to their readers. And yet, the details of scenes like those through which these navigators have passed, do not, though more than once repeated, become tiresome. Our author, too, is happy at description, and, by his mode of narration lends additional interest to what he relates. We were pleased, too, to find in an English book, in which reference is occasionally made to Americans, and to the United States, no sneers or sarcasms, in which so many of his countrymen delight to indulge, whenever an opportunity is afforded by the mention of America.

Of the literary merits of the work, we may say, that, on the whole, the book is well put together, and sufficiently well written. There are occasional specimens of good writing—we have quoted a few. But against a vicious phraseology, of which our author seems very fond, we must enter our protest. He is constantly saying—"immediately" such and such things were done—"directly" this occurred, so and so followed. Now this is ungrammatical, and in very bad taste. It may be thought that we are too censorious, and that we should not expect the most correct style of writing from a British naval officer, not a professed author, and we therefore pass it by.

ART. V.—*Domestic Manners of the Americans.* By MRS. TROLLOPE. London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Co. New-York, reprinted: 1832.

It is not our purpose to review this book with any desire to expose or correct a single misrepresentation. We have no wish, and, certainly, see no particular necessity, to set Mrs. Trollope right in any of her misstatements. Her mistakes are numerous; but rather, we are disposed to think, the fault of her education—which appears to have been somewhat French and flippant, and by no means calculated for a comprehensive survey of her kind or kin—and not the result of any inclination on the part of the lady. She is particularly careful, indeed, at frequent intervals of her book, to induce us to attribute her errors—though she

does not believe that she has made any—to the simple and single defect of vision, mental or physical; and is assiduously urgent, in discarding from her speech—in the hearing of her auditors, at least—all of those prejudices and preferences, either of birth or education, which she appears to be conscious have sometimes the effect of giving colour to all objects of human speculation, whether abroad or at home. With these reservations, clearly made, and as clearly recognised and understood, we will venture to look into the volume, which, if it has not, to employ the language of the writer in reference to the reception among us of Basil Hall's book on the same subject, been productive of a "moral earthquake," has, nevertheless, to the infinite amusement of the well-informed in our country, occasioned some annoyance to many of that thin-skinned gentry, the journalists. If it be the subject of any gratification, as doubtless it will, to know that she has fully succeeded in stirring up the bile of certain among them, Mrs. Trollope may felicitate herself thereupon, with all the pride and triumph of an Englishwoman. It is, indeed, the chief objection to the reprint before us, that it has been thought proper, by the American publishers, to preface it with an exordium, conceived in a peevish and fretful spirit, and altogether written in a puerile taste. The irony is not always perceptible, and is calculated immediately to provoke the sneer and sarcasm, which it would seem to have been the devout desire of the writer to avert.

The travels of Mrs. Trollope have been neither very various nor very wide. Indeed she has merely skirted a small frontier of our country, in its least cultivated and settled regions; and, if we except a few weeks passed in some few of the eastern and middle regions, can scarcely be said to have been in it at all. She entered the Mississippi at New-Orleans—made a pause of some seventy hours in that city—sympathized with a little negro, who, though a slave, appeared to be most unreasonably contented and happy—became acquainted with a milliner, and, through her, with a venerable gentleman of the New-Harmony faith, who dealt freely in maxims, "wise saws and modern instances;" and thus prepared and provided with this amount and specimen of New-Orleans society, took her departure. To a lady of her tact and talent, this glimpse of three days was enough, undoubtedly, to enable her to know all that was to be known, and to speak confidently and freely upon the characters, manners, and conditions of the place; and, accordingly, with the aid of a steam-boat journeyer, who happily fell in with her on her departure from Orleans, she details to us something of those distinctions which make the various classes of its society. She speaks with sovereign contempt of the creole aristocracy, who, it seems, have the audacity to give "grand dinners and dine to-

gether," and commiserates the fate of the "beautiful and amiable quadroons," who are not admitted to a glimpse of this ultra elysium; but, on the contrary, are silly enough to be satisfied, and even pleased, with their own—such as it is. There is not quite a chapter devoted to this city—the narrative, in most cases, being lamentably diversified with speculative digression, and passing cursorily, with the lady's mood, into the consideration of various other topics. Here, we are told, for the first time, that the companion of the author, from Europe, was the notorious Frances Wright, of whose mind and manners Mrs. Trollope speaks in terms of unqualified eulogy and praise, and upon the immoral tendencies of whose habits and opinions, she dwells with singular brevity, and in terms of the faintest and most guarded censure. It does not happen well for the latter, that Miss Wright was a companion, either so intimate or so well-esteemed. There is a vulgar old English adage in our mind, which, however, as both of these ladies appear to regard moralities with some dislike, we forbear more particularly to refer to; though, we doubt not, in this country as well as in Europe—ill-informed as may be the one, and well-informed the other—the application of it, to the case in point, will most readily be made. Of Miss Wright's objects, at this period, we have the following account. It had been well for the cause of popular virtue, and, perhaps, for the individual herself, had she continued to the last, the same amiable enthusiast she appears at the beginning.

"Instead of becoming a public orator in every town throughout America, she was about, as she said, to seclude herself for life in the deepest forest of the western world, that her time, her fortune, and her talents might be exclusively devoted to aid the cause of the suffering Africans. Her first object was to show that nature had made no difference between blacks and whites, excepting in complexion; and this she expected to prove by giving an education perfectly equal to a class of black and white children. Could this fact be once fully established, she conceived that the negro cause would stand on firmer ground than it had yet done, and the degraded rank which they have ever held among civilized nations would be proved to be a gross injustice. This question of the mental equality or inequality between us and the negro race, is one of great interest, and has never yet been fairly tried; and I expected for my children and myself both pleasure and information from visiting her establishment, and watching the success of her experiment."—pp. 33-4.

The history of Miss Wright, while in this country, is already in the possession of our readers; and this wild scheme, sanctioned as it is by an unfeigned if not a proper philanthropy, is well known to have shared the fortune of all her innovations upon the order of established things. Of course, such an experiment could not fairly be made in this country. To put it on a fair footing, it would have been essential, as a first step, that the teacher should have chosen a section of the world, utterly ignorant of the distinctions which all civilized society has made between members

of the human family, so divided and set apart, even from the hands of nature. A sense of relative superiority and inferiority would be for ever active in both classes, aware of the line of demarcation as drawn by the living world around and about them. Upon this subject much has already been said, and even at this moment, the altitude of public opinion in Great Britain, leaves us without a doubt, that, ere many days, she will proceed in experimenting upon the subject, in a manner not only startling but decisive. The topic in our country can scarcely be held sufficiently legitimate to permit further remark from us, but there is none that we can now call to notice so truly important, or so highly interesting in the consideration of our national destinies—none, around which so many doubts and so much diversity of opinion will be found to gather.

Mrs. Trollope, from New-Orleans, proceeds to Memphis, on board a steam boat, which, though large and convenient, has, it appears, separate cabins for the ladies and gentlemen—an arrangement which the English lady does not seem altogether to approve. It has too much formality about it, and although, were the cabins in common, some one of either sex might be incommoded, yet this evil, in the plenitude of her refinement, she considers more than counterbalanced by the starched and stifened air of the popular manners, consequent to this arrangement. The gentlemen, too, it appears, insist somewhat tenaciously upon the exclusive possession of their division; and the tone in which this feature of the local custom is dwelt upon by the writer, would lead us to the unavoidable inference, that Mrs. Trollope had become on board a perfect Mrs. Pry—had peeped and peered in all sections—

“Look’d in the baths and God knows where beside;”

and, most probably, exposed herself to some few hints of the aforesaid exclusiveness. She appears evidently to have been a very inquisitive body, and her book is much swollen by a petty and peevish complaining of repelling coldness here, and uncourteous indifference there, in cases where, without undergoing the usual, and, in America, the necessary forms of introduction, she has instituted a rigorous inquiry into concerns and customs, commonly held private and domestic. It is on this occasion, and on board this boat, that she first remarks, with a degree of severity, in strict proportion with its justice, upon the too current, if not fashionable, and vile habit of chewing tobacco, and voiding its offensive juices all around; utterly indifferent to situation and to decency. On this subject, she well merits a hearing; and if her rebuke have any effect in diminishing the number of those cursed and cursing with this noxious indulgence, we shall gladly forgive her all the other offences of her volume. Her sarcasms on this subject run all through the book, and are properly conceived

and well written. We quote a single paragraph at the conclusion of the second chapter.

"I hardly know any annoyance so deeply repugnant to English feelings as the incessant, remorseless spitting of Americans. I feel that I owe my readers an apology for the repeated use of this, and several other odious words; but I cannot avoid them, without suffering the fidelity of description to escape me. It is possible that in this phrase 'Americans,' I may be too general. The United States form a continent of almost distinct nations, and I must now and always, be understood to speak only of that portion of them which I have seen. In conversing with Americans, I have constantly found that if I alluded to any thing which they thought I considered as uncouth, they would assure me it was local and not national; the accidental peculiarity of a very small part, and by no means a specimen of the whole," &c.—pp. 34–5.

It would appear from this, that Mrs. Trollope had suffered some occasional misgivings, and been warned, that she was not exactly among the American people, though in America—that portion of the people, at least, from which the nation is to derive its character, and by which, alone, it would be legitimately represented. It is to be regretted however, that she so frequently overlooks and forgets the reservation, here made, and holds up as the make and model of a great people—great, even in achievement, not less than in number—the drunken boatman of a frontier river, or the ditcher of some interior canal, who, in many, if not most cases, is a faithful transcript from her own exclusively temperate and sedate regions of Wapping and the Strand.

We shall not pursue, step by step, the route taken by Mrs. Trollope. Her course is easily indicated, and the merest glance at the map, will satisfy any one, even unacquainted with the geography of the United States, how very small is the portion of that country, comparatively speaking, which she has seen. It will be found that the greater part of the three years which she spent within its limits, was employed in journeyings into and about a region, which, until within the last twenty-five years, had little or no sign of civilization—was partly in possession, and under the controul of, the Aborigines; and to which, the citizens of the United States are, to this moment, almost as much strangers as Mrs. Trollope herself. Much of it has been settled by the destitute myriads of foreigners who are ingrate and foolish enough annually to fly from the fashion, the fertility and feeling of their own European dwellings—preferring plenty and ease and independence on the Ohio and Mississippi, though coupled with rudeness of speech and uncouth manners. Many of its leading features are foreign, and we have been more than once amused with the complaint of the lady, uttered in reproof of some custom decidedly European in its origin, and perhaps a transfer directly from her own country. Where this is not the case—where the *squatter* is the poor defeated adventurer of another and neighbouring state, driven out into the wilderness by

poverty, by excess or crime, and seeking that shelter in the kindred glooms and austerities of wilderness life, which his own ill-fortunes, ill-habits, or ill-deeds, had probably denied or forfeited him in that from which he flies—the race thus formed is one, *sui generis*, for which the United States are under as few pledges or responsibilities as civilization itself. These alone, it is true, have not made up the entire of this forest population. There is yet another—a smaller, but a better and nobler class, who present enough that is redeeming in the moral character of our western regions. They are the men, who have taken the axe upon the shoulder, and with a spirit of adventure, we are proud to say, almost entirely American, have gone, singing cheerily, into the gloomy and druidical forests, undeterred by the deep silence—by the wilds and the wilder savages that fill them—unrepining at the fortune that calls for these privations and demands these perils—striking their resolute shafts deep in wilderness and mountain, and tearing from the bosom of the earth the countless spoils of manly and honourable industry—giving, in this occupation, a pledge—the surest that a people can ever make to the nation which honours, and the government which protects them—of an energy and ability and patriotism resolute to keep the faith and follow the fortunes of their fathers, and which, in turn, their children “will not willingly let die.” This class forms a portion of that people among whom it was the fortune of Mrs. Trollope to travel. It is to this class, in a spirit of rebuke and ridicule, which finds its true and sufficient commentary in the present condition of her own country and its population, that this refined lady so violently objects. She can see nothing in the bold daring—the firm courage—the strong nerve—the cheerful industry—the perseverance and tenacity of this people, triumphing as they are over the almost inaccessible bulwarks of nature. No nation ever came to its birthright through a more perilous time of trial, than did the United States; and when she shall be reproached with what is left undone, in the perfecting of her institutions, the amending of her morals or her manners, her sons will have made a reply, more than sufficient, if estimated comparatively with the deeds of any other nation, in pointing to what she has done in the teeth of poverty, and the oppressions and privations of two protracted wars with a nation whom we are still pleased in our humility to style by the endearing appellation of parent—but whose “boon and birthgift was the stepdame’s curse:”—a nation who first drove us from her arms, then sought us out, with the unrelenting ferocity of the wolf, even in the wilderness to which she had exiled us. It is not enough, in the view of Mrs. Trollope, that under a fate such as ours, we have been enabled to do so much. It is not enough that we have built the cottage; we have not yet taught

the vine to gad and gather around it. The fine arts have not yet hung their trophies within and about its walls of clay—music stirs not the deep valleys in the silence of midnight—the gay masquer, the giddy trifter, the voluptuous dancing girl, mingle not yet in the dwelling of the bee and the bear hunter; all the gaiety and the glitter are yet to come; and, in the estimation of the “Englisher woman,” when to these deficiencies are added bad roads, unhandsome and crazy vehicles, and poor steamboat society, all the achievements, all the labours, all the triumphs of youthful America, go absolutely for nothing.

From Memphis, our traveller proceeds to Cincinnati, touching at various points of location, on or about the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. On this route she gives us some woful accounts of the miserable condition of those who inhabit it—many particulars of her narrative most certainly having their foundation in truth. The only mistake which she can be said to have made, is in so hastily seizing upon the fortunes of some single individual or family—some exile, doubtless for good and sufficient reason, and making that the standard and specimen of the American people. As well might the American traveller, with like temper and truth, from the stews of London produce and set up the model, and draw the character of that nation, in which Mrs. Trollope never appears to have heard of boxing and bruising and beer drinking—of mobs and individual ruffians—of a penal code more sanguinary than that of Draco; and in a population of a million and a half, the existence of a class, as the London statistical writers allege, five thousand in number, who would cut one’s throat for a shilling. She has never heard of squalid misery—of outrageous crime—of brutal licentiousness—of ill manners, in this utopian and blessed region. It is no wonder therefore that she should be startled in the wildernesses of the new world, with exhibitions of boorishness and brutality among the men, and of a silly air of mock modesty among the women. She endeavours to make a pathetic picture of a Mississippi wood cutter—a creature met with but seldom, and not recognised, and scarcely known as representing any distinct class in the country. The text is illustrated by a rude plate, representing the log dwelling and its wretched inmates. The description, taken only as that of a singular and isolated case, is doubtless correct in all leading particulars. In any estimate of the resources of the nation, it is surely unnecessary to say, that such a class forms no subject of consideration.

At Cincinnati, Mrs. Trollope spent nearly two, out of the three years passed in our country. In all this period she never saw a beggar; and this fact, which, of itself, speaks volumes for the nation of which it is recorded, not only fails to elicit from this very impartial narrator, the applause for our policy and peo-

ple, which, by any unjaundiced spirit would most certainly have been expressed, but actually furnishes her with an occasion to sneer at our deficiencies in other respects—in the arts, the sciences, learning, literature and amusements—which deficiencies, with a strange philosophy, she avers to arise from this distaste to beggary—a feeling in turn, solely attributable to the “*auri sacra fames*”—the vile and besetting sin, in this lady’s estimation of Americanism. Their industry becomes a reproach, and an argument against them; and that very condition of things, so far as individual prosperity is affected, for which the British democracy is now struggling, is ascribed to this same democracy, as far less grateful and necessary than the absolute poverty and destitution, crime and misery, which in their own, and, in every country, must be the certain result of the many labouring and living only for the ease, the refinements and the luxuries of the few. This, indeed, is the true and only comparison which should be made—the condition and character, the present and future prospects of the British labouring classes, and the American people at large—who are, all of them, workingmen in a greater or less degree. In America we are not quite old enough to have seen much, if any, aristocracy; unless we except that which belongs to the possessor of a commission in the militia. As this class, however, is of so extensive a character—every man, according to our author, being a major or colonel or general—it follows that there can be but little of exclusiveness in distinctions thus liberally distributed. We see but little luxury—our refinements are not much beyond a love of decorum and cleanliness: we know nothing of the artifices and ultra-graces of a long standing conventional arrangement, among old families possessed of enormous wealth: we have no glorious pictures—no cultivated scenes—no marble dwellings—no entire communities devoted to the creation of new luxuries, by which to provoke into activity the palled and palsied appetite. But, on the other hand, we see no shelterless misery—no squalid want and degradation—no riotous and reckless masses of starving fathers and mothers, and fatherless children crying out for bread to their rulers, and in the blindness and wantonness of their desperation, tearing away the pillars of peace, and order, and religion. Jonathan has his faults, it is true, and they are bad enough to need amendment. He chews his tobacco and drinks his whiskey—though not more liberally we believe, than his British brother—still, however, in quantities far beyond the boundary of propriety or prudence. He thinks highly of his country—perhaps too highly. He is vain and boastful of the freedom he possesses—believes or affects to believe, his sky as fine as the Italian—his mountains as high, his rivers as broad, long and deep, his fields as fine and fertile, and his fruits and crops as abundant as any in the world; and in all

this, rustic Jonathan is not unwilling to be put to the proof. His halls of legislation are, to his mind, unrivalled for eloquence and good government; the strains of his poets are perhaps quite as sweet as his desires would have them; and the village artist, whose chef-d'œuvre is the tavern sign board, he has not the slightest doubt, would put Italy and England to the blush. In this, his vanity may have something the start of good judgment and a proper courtesy; but surely the patriotism of the illusion should furnish a redeeming something in the eyes of Mrs. Trollope.

Nor is Jonathan so far wrong, as his neighbours, with a most unkindly spirit, would have him appear. The natural world, in which he lives, and for which, perhaps, he takes quite as much credit to himself, as a respect to the great original will permit, defies, and fully justifies any comparison with the features of the old world which it presumes to rival; and so long as Jonathan may refer to his patriots—his Washingtons—for the American Revolution brought forth many worthy of the name—his warriors, (for have they not contended, and successfully, even with those of Great Britain)—his authors, as well on government as on ethics, as well in speculative and abstract philosophies, as in imaginative and occasional wanderings—for has not Great Britain adopted and recorded them among her classics, and does she not honour them daily by reference and applause)—her Painters, her Wests, her Alstons, her Leslies, her Newtons, (for are they not the élite, and at the very head of British art) so long as this long and brilliant catalogue is spread before him, may he not claim a portion of the honours—may he not reach his hand to the prize—may he not stand up in the great arena of competition and glory, among the patriots of Europe, and her heroes and statesmen, her authors and her artists, and with conscious pride and honest enthusiasm exclaim, “anch’ Io son pittore.”? These are the triumphs of his people. There is something yet wanting, perhaps. For himself, he has not yet learnt to enjoy a fine picture, or a delicious poem. The necessity of going forth at sunrise, and labouring till sunset, day by day, for his bread, keeps him ignorant of those refinements which belong not to his situation. He has some idea that there are such refinements, and he may possibly crave them at times; but the necessity of providing for his children and himself is before him; he seizes his axe, and in the hollow echoes which it calls up in the woods, he finds company that makes him forget or willingly forego the thousand and one nameless enjoyments of ease and affluence. When Mrs. Trollope shall describe that working class in Great Britain—whether in the manufactories of England or the tythe parishes of Ireland—in which the arts, sciences, and literature—the muses and the graces—have taken up their abodes; refining

vulgar asperities, rounding the rough features of the boor, and softening the savage manners of the hodman, we shall be more willing then, to account for the deficiencies, and seek an apology for the roughnesses of Jonathan. When it shall be shown to us, that from one end of Great Britain to the other, there is a less ignorant, more honest, more enlightened body of artisans and labourers than in the territory of the United States, compassing our most remote extremes and dependencies, it will be quite time enough to inquire into the condition of our people, and to make a like provision for *their minds*, with that which the British government is now called upon to make for the *bodies* of its grieving and groaning population. We have not the slightest doubt, and certainly entertain no fear, that, in a comparison, man for man, and woman for woman, America, the child of a most unnatural and vindictive parent, will be found fully to acquit herself with credit and éclat, of all the high, social, and political duties. She has government, but the tributary and not the tyrant of society. Not a few of Mrs. Trollope's leading and standing topics of complaint, in relation to the United States, are comprised in the following passage :

"The simple manner of living in western America, was more distasteful to me from its levelling effects on the manners of the people, than from the personal privations that it rendered necessary; and yet, till I was without them, I was in no degree aware of the many pleasurable sensations derived from the little elegancies and refinements enjoyed by the middle classes in Europe. There were many circumstances, too trifling even for my gossiping pages, which pressed themselves daily and hourly upon us, and which forced us to remember painfully that we were not at home. It requires an abler pen than mine to trace the connexion which I am persuaded exists between these deficiencies and the

males and females, is so remarkable, that I was constantly endeavouring to account for it. It certainly does not proceed from want of intellect. I have listened to much dull and heavy conversation in America, but rarely to any that I could strictly call silly, (if I except the everywhere privileged class of very young ladies.) They appear to me to have clear heads and active intellects; *are more ignorant upon subjects that are only of conventional value*, than on such as are of intrinsic importance; but there is no charm, no grace in their conversation. I very seldom, during my whole stay in the country, heard a sentence elegantly turned, and correctly pronounced from the lips of an American. There is always something either in the expression or the accent that jars the feelings and shocks the taste."

This is sweeping enough, in all conscience; it requires but little effort, however, to understand it. Much of the complaint comes under the description contained in the querulous and familiar verse—

"I do not like you Doctor Fell,
The reason why, I cannot tell,
But—I do not like you Doctor Fell ;"

and, of course, requires no remark. The substance of all is,

that the traveller finds herself, not only in a new country, but among strangers—in a strange place, where all but herself are busied, not so much in making money as in making bread. It was with the view of putting her son in a like way, that Mrs. Trollope went to Cincinnati—that place having been recommended to her, *especially as a new community*, where adventure and industry might do well. The obvious inference, with her, should have been, that there were few other than needy and busy people to be found in the place; and she should have known, therefore, how unreasonable it was to look for the refinements of luxurious leisure. She, a mere visiter, was the only idle one among them—disposed, no doubt, as a matter of pastime, to exact the attention to her twaddle, of those persons who had ten thousand other things to do. They paused at her beck, heard what she had to say, and hurried on to their vocations. They had no time for chat, and most probably had little taste for that of a garrulous woman, going about “taking notes.” Perhaps, as they were the merest men of business, without the advantages of learned education, they could contribute nothing but the results of their own experience and their “mother wit,” in the way of conversation. This, no doubt, when the hours of business were over, they were not unwilling to do. But nobody, at all familiar with the country, knowing the nature of its settlement, would think of going in this direction, simply with the view to highly polished society; and the reproach is laughable, when Mrs. Trollope tells us, that she could not possibly meet with any idle intelligent people. The people were all pioneers—mere pioneers—and have not challenged that admiration of themselves and theirs which she so wrongheadedly lays to their account. She exclaims, with no little of a lofty complaisance, peculiarly English—“Jonathan must remember, that if he will challenge competition with the old world, the old world will now and then look out to see how he supports his pretensions.” But Jonathan does no such thing—he offers no such challenge—he makes no such pretensions. Mrs. Trollope, on the contrary, seeks the poor fellow out, in his hovel on the banks of the Ohio—talks to him of the miserable servitude of his condition, compelled, as he is, to labour from dawn to dark, for the vile grain and gruel of existence—wonders at the content which he exhibits, with such a fate—endeavours to provoke his envy at the luxuries and the glory and honour he has lost in not being or not having been born an Englishman—talks largely about the polish of court society, as if the mass of her people, any more than ours, see or know any thing about it—of the happy condition of those progenitors, their pride of place and numerous pleasures, from whom he has so lamentably degenerated—assures him that his log-house is not fit for the pigs, that his wife talks

in the most horrible and discordant *patois*; and, if his daughters happen, most unluckily, at that moment to make their appearance, lectures them upon the hoydenish manners, the unpractised gait, the awkward and irksome simplicity and rude speech of themselves and countrywomen. And when Jonathan, in the bitterness of his heart, turns about and retorts with a comparative picture of the blessings of his own, and the miseries of the mother country—of the tyranny of the few, and the pauperism, the prostration and pollution of the many—why then the wretch grows brutal and ill-mannered and cublike, and is said to have thrown down the gauntlet to that kind parent who has done so much for him—in driving him into a wilderness where he does so much for himself, in hunting him with arms and savages, and, failing in this way utterly to tear him from the strong root which he has taken, in denying him his honest trophies, and envying him the substance which his own vigorous manhood and independence have won from wild and rugged nature on the waters of the Ohio and in the bosom of Illinois. Well may Jonathan distrust—happy, indeed, if he come not, in time, to hate this people, whom he vainly seeks, but without any reason or necessity, to sooth and conciliate! Long may he continue to regard the perils and privations of his own wilds and waters, as a boon and a blessing, compared with the lock-and-collar refinements—the servitude, the strife and struggle for existence in the refreshing and polite circles of a British loom, an Irish bog, and a parish poor house, so necessary a concomitant of both.

We take from this volume another passage which illustrates another feature of Mrs. Trollope's disposition to quarrel with the rustics among whom she loiters, for the strangely perverse taste which enables them to be content with their institutions and mode of life. She regards it as perfectly horrible that a wood-cutter of the Mississippi and a ditcher of the Ohio, should feel none of the cravings of a London appetite.

"We visited one farm, which interested us particularly, from its wild and lonely situation, and from the entire dependance of the inhabitants upon their own resources. It was a partial clearing in the very heart of the forest. The house was built on the side of a hill, so steep that a high ladder was necessary to enter the front door, while the back one opened against the hillside; at the foot of this sudden eminence ran a clear stream whose bed had been deepened into a little reservoir, just opposite the house. A noble field of Indian corn stretched away into the forest on one side, and a few half cleared acres, with a shed or two upon them, occupied the other; giving accommodation to cows, horses, pigs, and chickens innumerable. Immediately before the house was a small potato garden, with a few peach and apple trees. The house was built of logs, and consisted of two rooms, besides a little *shanty* or *lean-to*, that was used as a kitchen. Both rooms were comfortably furnished with good beds, drawers, &c. The farmer's wife, and a young woman who looked like her sister, were spinning, and three little children were playing about. The woman told me that they spun and wove all the cotton and woollen garments of the family, and knit all the stockings; her husband, though not a shoemaker by trade, made all

the shoes. She manufactured all the soap and candles they used, and prepared her sugar from the sugar trees on their farm. All she wanted with money, she said, was to buy coffee and tea and whiskey, and she could 'get enough any day by sending a batch of butter and chickens to market.' They used no wheat, nor sold any of their corn, which, though it appeared a very large quantity, was not more than they required to make their bread and cakes of various kinds, and to feed all their live stock during the winter."—pp. 58–9.

One would say that this was a pretty fair specimen of plenty, ease, and the "all in all, content." But it would not be Mrs. Trollope unless there was some serpent in this elysium, some blight among the buds—some strange alloy carrying with it a sober warning that "all is not gold that glistens." Hear what she says on this point.

"These people were indeed independent, Robinson Crusoe hardly more so—and they eat and drank abundantly; but yet it seemed to me that there was something awful and almost unnatural in their loneliness. No village bell ever summoned them to prayer, where they might meet the friendly greeting of their fellow men. When they die, no spot sacred by ancient reverence will receive their bones. Religion will not breathe her sweet and solemn farewell upon the grave; the husband or the father will dig the pit that is to hold them, beneath the nearest tree; he will himself deposit them beneath it, and the wind that whispers through the boughs will be their only requiem. But, then, they pay neither tythes nor taxes, are never expected to pull off a hat or make a courtesy, and will live and die without hearing or uttering the dreadful words, 'God save the king.'"

Mrs. Trollope is evidently no great deal of a philosopher, or she would permit the taste of mankind to regulate itself, as it invariably will. The lamentation and sympathy here are evidently uncalled for. Where the human mind is content with its fortunes, the taste is evidently accommodated, and must certainly have been consulted; and it certainly exhibits less of Christian charity than is altogether becoming in so well-accomplished a lady, to seek to provoke a feeling of disquietude in that condition, which seemingly is in want of nothing. Mrs. Trollope should have known better. We are not, however, disposed to think with less of admiration than herself, of the joyous and grateful associations which she has crowded into this little paragraph.

It is not because we love and regard them less, that they are less frequent to be found in our, than in the mother country. When it shall be the case with us, that mountain, forest, and river possess and send forth their thousands and tens of thousands swarming in our vast space, as in the small realm from which they originally sprung—when our wilds shall be thick with human habitations, and bud and bloom with the fruits of human industry—when the axe of the pioneer shall cease to resound in our woods, disturbing the echoes which have slept for centuries;—and when 'he desolate and destitute pauper from a foreign shore, shall have become prosperous on the banks of the Wabash, the Arkansas, and the Mississippi, we doubt not that the

village will spring up upon the hillside—that its bell will call to Sabbath service—and all the taste, and all the materials of foreign luxury, whether of the fashion, the fancy, or the heart, in the utmost width and fullest sense of European perfection, will be found to command the good opinion and applause of some future Mrs. Trollope. Nor, we may venture to say, will our improvement be limited to the merely external decorations of society and fashion. Some vital charities, we think, will have taken up abode among a people, for whose ease, affluence, and content, nature and human government have done so much. Religion, too, will exert her offices, and bring to the quiet and contemplative mind, its numberless and beautiful associations.

The sarcasm with which the above paragraph concludes, is ungracious and unbecoming. The tenor of it is false and ridiculous. The American people scarcely give themselves a moment's thought of king or prince, but would not have any objection that "God would save" either. They regard the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, as derogatory in the highest degree to the latter, and calculated to create a condition of things hollow, corrupt, and artificial; but have no more enmity to his name or person, than they have fear or affection for his power.

Upon the subject of "Religious Revivals," and their ill effects upon society, manners, and morals, in the United States, Mrs. Trollope, unhappily, has too much occasion for sneer and censure. Her description of what may be styled the *maladie du pays*—for it is literally and unfortunately such—is scarcely exaggerated. The extent to which it has prevailed and still prevails among the ignorant, the fanatic, and distempered—the readiness with which the unconscious, the young and timid, fall victims to wild and exaggerated sentiments—startling delusions—gloomy and desolating terrors—the chimeras of a deeply roused imagination, and the great growth of fanaticism, which, in substituting cant and clamour and ostentatious prayer, for the quieter and more gentle rites and offices of a pure and proper religion, tend necessarily to overthrow the latter—are all too evidently before our eyes, not to awaken serious alarm among the intelligent and truly pious, for the safety of that scheme of civil and religious tolerance, which has been thought, and with propriety, one of the most grateful features in our government and constitution. The only security, indeed, for our social and civil welfare—apart from the reliance to be entertained upon the daily increasing intelligence of the people—is to be found in the great variety and number of religious sects which inundate our country; neutralizing, necessarily, the influences and efforts of one another, and preventing that degree and kind of concert and co-

operation, necessary to the full success and predominance of either.

Mrs. Trollope, with much truth and justice, attributes the undue, and sometimes improper influence of the clergy over the American women, to the attentions which they receive from this class. We have italicised a few of her opinions on this particular, in the selected passages, by which her meaning and ours may be the more easily understood. In speaking of the Cincinnati theatre, she tell us, that "ladies are seldom seen there," and by far the larger portion deem it an offence to religion to witness dramatic representations." "It is," says she, "*in the churches and chapels that the ladies are to be seen in full costume*—no evening in the week but brings throngs of the young and beautiful to the chapels and meeting houses, *all dressed with care, and, sometimes, with great pretension; it is there that all display is made—all fashionable distinction sought.*" "The proportion of gentlemen," she proceeds, "attending these meetings, is very small; but often, as might be expected, a sprinkling of smart young clerks, makes the display intelligible and natural." Of the truth of this, and its application, with some qualifications, to almost every section of the Union, there is not the most distant question. Mrs. Trollope might have gone further. She might have traced to the influence of sectarianism, the absence of all popular amusements in America—those excepted which are brutal, and which we have borrowed from her own country, where a like influence, though, perhaps, to a more limited extent, has been productive of similar results. As she has properly remarked, the working people must have some relaxation. They must have amusements of one kind or other; and, being denied those which are innocent, they necessarily seek those which are vicious and of easy attainment. The rigid exactions of the clergy, who set their faces studiously against every thing which savours of pleasantry and play, have driven thousands from the enjoyment of less dangerous luxuries, to the gambling table and the tavern; and until we shall provide for our youth of both sexes places of common resort, where innocent recreations, free from any grave and gloomy influences, shall satisfy the demand which nature herself appears to make for such indulgencies, we shall continue to see thousands of the one, falling victims to the merest cant and the most drivelling fanaticism; and even a greater proportion of the other class, prostrating the noblest faculties of mind and body, alike to the excesses of the brothel and the bottle. Until we confine religion to its offices of unpretending charity and quiet and persuasive tuition—until we restrain it in its more ostentatious and intolerant exhibitions; and, with a sense sufficiently enlightened, learn to hold in becoming scorn and contempt, the vulgar and tyran-

nical superstition which makes all amusement synonymous with crime, the evil will go on increasing, until all the choice and generous charities—all the pure offices of society, all its arts, all its polish and politeness, will be made to fraternize with those characteristics of a slavish zeal, which, in all times and nations, have made ultraism in matters of religion, the most malignant and bitter despotism that ever afflicted or degraded man, and misrepresented and defamed his Creator.

The following brief reference to our literature, will amuse many readers. There is some reason in the idea, that the magazine character of our newspapers, and the very general diffusion through them, of a false standard, as well in taste as in doctrine, has been the greatest enemy to its value and increase. It may be doubted, however, whether this evil be not, in great part, counterbalanced by the large circulation among the people, through the same media, of a general, though, perhaps, a superficial knowledge of things. The anecdote touching the shoemaker poet, is doubtless a caricature. The lady thought perhaps of Bloomfield.

"In truth there are many reasons which render a very general diffusion of literature impossible in America. I can scarcely class the universal reading of newspapers as an exception to this remark; if I could, my statement would be exactly the reverse, and I should say America beat the world in letters. The fact is, that throughout all ranks of society, from the successful merchant, which is the highest, to the domestic serving man, which is the lowest, they are all too actively employed to read, except at such broken moments as may suffice for a peep at a newspaper. It is for this reason, I presume, that every *American* newspaper is more or less a magazine, wherein the merchant may scan, while he holds out his hand for an invoice, 'Stanzas by Mrs. Hemans,' or a garbled extract from 'Moore's Life of Byron;' the lawyer may study his brief faithfully, and yet contrive to pick up the valuable dictum of some American critic, that 'Bulwer's novels are decidedly superior to Sir Walter Scott's;' nay, even the auctioneer may find time, as he bustles to his tub or his tribune, to support his pretensions to polite learning, by glancing his quick eye over the columns, and reading 'that Miss Mitford's descriptions are indescribable.' If you buy a yard of ribband, the shopkeeper lays down his newspaper, perhaps two or three, to measure it. I have seen a brewer's drayman perched on the shaft of his dray and reading one newspaper, while another was tucked under his arm; and I once went into the cottage of a country shoemaker of the name of Harris, where I saw a newspaper half full of 'original' poetry directed to Madison F. Harris. To be sure of the fact, I asked the man if his name were Madison. 'Yes, madam, Madison Franklin Harris is my name.' The last and the lyre divided his time, I fear too equally, for he looked pale and poor."—pp. 88-9.

The adroit manner, in which the lady, while stating what seems to be good or praiseworthy in our country or its institutions, contrives to mingle with it some alloy, or make the whole tell against us, is worthy of attention. While we would not always consider her obnoxious to the charge of the *suggestio falsi*, that of the *suppressio veri* may not so readily pass with impunity—an offence attributable not so much, we should say in charity, to the desire of misrepresentation, as to an unqualified

ignorance of the subject. This deficiency seems to bring no misgivings to her mind; indeed, the desperate desire to prate on all topics, so peculiar to her, has not suffered her to perceive or regard it; and will scarcely permit her American reader to set down to the right score, or justify her on any. The following passages should surely bring us large accessions of emigrants, since the evils of our country, as detailed in the text, are those, not of its resources or its institutions, but rather of the simple or stiffnecked people who cannot comprehend, and do not know how to appreciate its advantages.

"Mechanics, if good workmen, are certain of employment, and good wages, rather higher than with us; the average wages of a labourer, throughout the Union, is ten dollars a month, with lodging, boarding, washing, and mending; if he lives as his own expense he has a dollar a day. It appears to me that the necessities of life, that is to say, meat, bread, butter, tea, and coffee, (not to mention whiskey,) are within the reach of every sober, industrious, and healthy man who chooses to have them; and yet I think that an English peasant, with the same qualifications, would, in coming to the United States, change for the worse."—pp. 104-5.

And again:—the only mistake in this passage is that of the *general* for the *exception*; the assertion that the following is a singular and not the universal case—the *oasis* shining forth in the sands and solitudes of barrenness and desolation:—

"There was one man whose progress in wealth I watched with much interest and pleasure. When I first became his neighbour, himself, his wife, and four children were living in one room, with plenty of beefsteaks and onions for breakfast, dinner, and supper, but with very few other comforts. He was one of the finest men I ever saw; full of natural intelligence and activity of mind and body, but he could neither read nor write. He drank but little whiskey, and but rarely chewed tobacco, and was therefore more free from that plague spot of spitting which rendered male colloquy so difficult to endure. He worked for us frequently, and often used to walk into the drawing room and seat himself on the sofa and tell me all his plans. He made an engagement with the proprietor of the wooded hill before mentioned, by which half the wood he could fell was to be his own. His unwearied industry made this a profitable bargain, and from the proceeds he purchased the materials for building a comfortable frame or wooden house; he did the work almost entirely himself. He then got a job for cutting rails, and as he could cut twice as many in a day as any other man in the neighbourhood, he made a good thing of it. He then let half of his pretty house, which was admirably constructed, with an ample portico that kept it always cool. His next step was contracting for the building of a wooden bridge, and when I left the Mohawk, he had fitted up his half of the building as an hotel and grocery store; and I have no doubt that every sun that sets sees him a richer man than when it rose. He hopes to make his son a lawyer, and I have little doubt that he will live to see him sit in congress; when his time arrives, the wood-cutter's son will rank with any other member of congress, not of courtesy, but of right, and the idea that his origin is a disadvantage will never occur to the imagination of the most exalted of his fellow citizens."—pp. 108-9.

Of course this condition of things, which is one, certainly, not only of unexampled prosperity, but within the reach and attainment of any and every person, has its qualifications in the jaundiced vision of the London lady. The affluence brings with it vicious excesses; the equality, coarse familiarity, etc., etc. We

forbear multiplying quotations of this description, numerous as they might be, exhibiting the great advantages held out to the industrious and honest, by the young and flourishing states.

We shall merely advert to a long notice of the acted drama, and condition of theatricals at Cincinnati—the fine arts, and mis-named delicacy of demeanour and thought, which puts all good manners and modesty to the blush. The whole is a broad English caricature, grounded possibly in truth, but forfeiting, in the variety of its decorations, all distinctive claim to that character. The chapter is illustrated by a lithograph, exhibiting the interior of a box and part of the pit of the Cincinnati theatre. Five persons occupy the former—two of the gentler sex, and three—so called—gentlemen. The pedestals of one of these latter, are protruded, parallel with his head, over and in front of the box—exhibiting a crouching outline, not unlike that of a frog when about to make his leap. His two male companions are seated upon it, one of them, with his jacket off and placed under him, with his back to the *house* and his face to the ladies of his own box; the other holding an oblique position, which enables him to behold the performance and the fair at the same moment. It may not be out of place to add, that the artist has made the prominent—that is to say the unjacketed—gentleman, purely English in his frame of body—as unlike the American figure as it could possibly have been drawn. It would be quite amusing were it to appear, that, in this description of American manners, a regular abstract of John Bull had sat for the picture. The whole affair, however, we take to be the broadest fun and fancy; though we are far from thinking it impossible to find a theatrical, or, indeed, any kind of exhibition in either nation, into which some personages do not sometimes penetrate, neither prepared by fortune, birth, or education, to appreciate the performances or do credit to the company. If by this picture we are to understand that the family of Jonathan is one *sui generis*, and there is no member, indigent, vulgar, or brutal, in that of John Bull, why then, the humours of Mrs. Trollope are certainly legitimate; but if this is not the case, if some Britons are now and then to be found ill-graced, ill-dressed, ill-mannered, grog-drinking, and tobacco-chewing—John himself will be somewhat at a loss to comprehend their peculiar point and application.

The fact is—and hence the difference—the poor man in America is prosperous enough, occasionally, to indulge in some things rather beyond the common necessities of life; while the English labourer, in the land which he so much loves, has but little from his daily toil beyond his daily bread. Jonathan can occasionally take his wife and sons and daughters to the play house, while John Bull, unless he break in upon his main comforts, or deny himself some of his usual cravings, must be content to leave all

such spectacles to the elder brothers of his feudal family. The false delicacy among our females, of which Mrs. Trollope speaks in the same passage, is properly a subject of reprehension and rebuke. A few years of increased prosperity and increasing population, will, however, have remedied in great part the evil. The reason of it may readily be found in the seclusion and solitude which distinguishes and must for a long time distinguish the greater portion of western America, where the absence of society—its collisions, and the scrutiny into thoughts and practices alike, which it necessarily provokes, has left certain features of primitive life.

We had marked for selection a chapter on the subject of a methodist camp meeting, written with some felicity, and, we fear, too much truth. Our limits warn us, however, of the propriety of its suppression. The reader of Mrs. Trollope will do well to linger upon this chapter, and inquire in how much the national manners—not to speak of national morals, are liable to perversion and prostration by such practices in general. We have already remarked upon the absence of popular amusements in our country, and the unhappy, and we may add, the unavoidable consequences to public virtue and the nation at large. On this head, in the course of a chapter devoted to a notice of the city of Baltimore, we find the following passage.

“The theatre was closed when we were in Baltimore, but we were told that it was very far from being a popular or fashionable amusement. We were, indeed, told this every where throughout the country, and the information was generally accompanied with the observation, that the opposition of the clergy was the cause of it. But I suspect that this is not the principal cause, especially among the men, who, if they were so implicit in their obedience to the clergy, would certainly be more constant in their attendance at the churches; nor would they, moreover, deem the theatre more righteous because an English actor or a French dancer performed there; yet on such occasions the theatres overflow. The cause, I think, is in the character of the people. *I never saw a people so totally divested of gaiety*; there is no trace of this feeling *from one end of the Union to the other* (rather sweeping, we should say, though nearly correct for one who has been only at one end of it.) *They have no fêtes, no fairs, no merry makings, no music in the streets, no punch, no puppet shows.* If they see a comedy or a farce, they may laugh at it, but they can do very well without it, &c., &c. A distinguished publisher at Philadelphia told me that no comic publication had ever yet been found to answer in America.” pp. 170-1.

A due regard to the establishment of a regular system of popular sports, would drive intemperance out of the land, and render perfectly unnecessary those badges (however valuable and necessary now) of national shame and dishonour, the Temperance Societies.

Washington pleased our traveller. Upon that part of our constitution, which will not permit our government agents abroad, to receive, or rather to retain, presents, of whatever value, from any foreign potentate, Mrs. Trollope remarks that “it would be a better way to select for office such men as could not be se-

duced by a sword or snuff box." Perhaps so—but it may be that the American congress looked deeper than the dread of corruption in the adoption of this law; and yet, recognising this as their sole reason, Mr. Horace Walpole should be authority for its propriety—in the estimation of an English lady, at least.

Mrs. Trollope has spoken some truth at the end of the following passage:—

"I can by no means attempt to describe all the apartments of this magnificent building, (the Capitol,) but the magnificent rotunda in the centre must not be left unnoticed. It is indeed a noble hall, a hundred feet in diameter, and of an imposing loftiness, lighted by an ample dome. Almost any picture (excepting the Centaurs) would look paltry in this room, from the immense height of the walls; but the subjects of the four pictures which are placed there, are of such high historic interest, that they should certainly have a place somewhere as national records. One represents the signing of the Declaration of Independence; another, the Resignation of the Presidency by the great Washington; another, the celebrated Victory of General Gates at Saratoga; and the fourth—I do not well remember, but I think it was some other martial scene commemorating a victory; I rather think that of Yorktown.

"One other subject in the capitol must be mentioned, though it occurs in so obscure a part of the building that one or two members to whom I mentioned it, were not aware of its existence. The lower part of the edifice, a story below the rotunda, &c., has a variety of committee rooms, courts, and other places of business. In a hall leading to some of these rooms, the ceiling is supported by pillars, the capitals of which struck me as peculiarly beautiful. They are composed of the ears and leaves of the Indian corn, beautifully arranged, and forming as graceful an outline as the acanthus itself. *This was the only instance I saw in which America has ventured to attempt a national originality; the success is perfect.* A sense of fitness always enhances the effect of beauty. I will not attempt a long essay on the subject; but, *if America, in her vastness, her immense natural resources, and her remote grandeur, would be less imitative, she would be infinitely more picturesque and interesting.*"—pp. 185-6.

The notes on Slavery are full of errors, and scarcely deserve a mention. The details are many of them false—the lady knows nothing of the subject, as it obtains, and is regulated in the United States; and her speculations upon it are only the commonplace of the philanthropists, such as we have been accustomed to hear in all ages. But that the topic is an irksome and ungracious one, in many sections of our country, we should be pleased to give it a place, were it only to afford our readers a fair specimen of the numerous and gross absurdities into which a superficial and flippant writer is so likely to fall, in the discussion of institutions which lie so far below the surface as ours—which may not be *seen*, and can only be judged of and known by those who *feel* them.

The facility is truly ludicrous, with which Mrs. Trollope, when pleased with an unknown object, discovers it to be any thing but American. She appears to have been fortunate in her visits to Washington Square, Philadelphia, in finding unoccupied benches. The general complaint is, at this period, that they are not provided in sufficient numbers to satisfy the demand for them. At the Chesnut street theatre, she saw one man "deliberately take off his coat that he might enjoy the refreshing cool-

ness of shirt sleeves." Here, too, as in all other places, the men wore their hats and spat incessantly.

A great deal, in relation to Philadelphia, its manners, customs, refinement, and pretension, is said by the writer; but as the greater portion of this has found its way into the journals of the country, and contains, amidst some truth and point, much that is false and foolish, we forbear to quote it. For the rest, we have no apprehensions that it will either mislead or materially provoke. She compliments the manners of the Philadelphians—their freedom from affectation—their simplicity of dress; but inveighs against the coldness and dryness of the gentlemen—the absence of warmth, heart, and enthusiasm, on all points, national independence and emancipation excepted.

We will not be thought to speak slightly of their merits, when we confess ourselves to have been struck, in many parts of this volume, with those frequent references which the writer has made, and often so correctly, to the condition of her own sex in the United States. Much of this stuff is undoubtedly without foundation, as it relates to the habits among the better classes of our country; and many of the particulars dwelt upon by Mrs. Trollope, only prove the very equivocal character of that society, into which she seems most generally to have fallen. Much, however, is stubbornly true, and might and should, with all due alertness, be remedied and amended by those whom it most immediately concerns. We shall be more than obliged to her, if her remarks shall have the effect of making our well-bred females take their proper place in society, and assert their due sway and influence.

Of sleighing, she says:—

"The sleighs are delightful, and constructed at so little expense, that I wonder we have not all got them in England, lying by, in waiting for the snow, which often remains with us long enough to permit their use. Sleighing is much more generally enjoyed by night than by day, for what reason I could never discover, unless it be, that no gentlemen are to be found disengaged from business in the mornings. Nothing certainly can be more delightful than the gliding smoothly and rapidly along, deep sunk in soft furs, the moon shining with almost mid-day splendour, the air of crystal brightness, and the snow sparkling on every side, as if it were sprinkled with diamonds. And then the noiseless movement of the horses, so mysterious and unwonted, and the gentle tinkling of the bells you meet and carry, all help at once to sooth and excite the spirits; in short, I had not the least objection to sleighing at night; I only wished to sleigh by day also."—p. 244.

We must now finish with Mrs. Trollope's book. Our object has been, rather to let our own people see a little of what has been said about them, whether well or ill-founded, just or unjust, and not to offer any vain qualifications of the one, or defences or denials of the other. In the performance of this duty, however, we have not hesitated to remark, here and there, cursorily and without study, upon various particulars, more with a feeling of nation-

ality, or, we should say, Americanism, than from a sense of any necessity, or the influence of any great desire, to correct Mrs. Trollope, or to console our readers for the poor opinions entertained of them by that wise and venerable lady. Her notices are evidently written in a mood rather unfavourable to the consideration of the peculiarities of any people whomsoever. She regards all things with a querulous and unquiet spirit, and a jaundiced and wandering eye. Her chief topics of complaint, in the review of Americans and American customs, other than those of which we have spoken, and the truth of which, in a spirit of equity rather than of law, (for it would be difficult, under the general issue, for the lady to prove much of her narration,) we have freely admitted, are apt among all reasonable and not ill-tempered people, to provoke a smile. They are mostly evils of the tea-table and the toilet—subjects, we grant, of infinite importance among the young and budding of her sex, but, we should think, not exactly such as should very greatly provoke the anger, or occasion the severe censure of an ancient and intelligent personage of Mrs. Trollope's dimensions. Few of our defects are material ones—none, according to her account, irremediable—yet, they are sufficient, it would seem, to subject their proprietors to the seven-fold curse—the “doom of sores”—“*a capite ad calcem*.” She admits the country to be “fair to the eye, and most richly teeming with the gifts of plenty”—she has “never seen a beggar” within its limits—she beholds all prosperous who desire to be so—many wise, intelligent, agreeable—mostly virtuous—all willing to please—and yet, what with the lack of the arts in every mud-hovel in every wilderness, (a growth, by the way, entirely of the closet and hot-house,) the deficiency of *mannerists* from London or Paris—the absence of snug coterie and literary lady, in all quarters in which it may please our traveller to place her abode—she has seen nothing to “soften the distate which the aggregate of her recollections has left upon her mind.”

It is impossible for us to say what were Mrs. Trollope's anticipations when she came to our country. What did she expect to see—what could have been her ideas of a young people, whose history has only been peculiar, and calculated to provoke attention, from the extreme severity and hardship of their early fortunes? It is more than probable, that knowing little or nothing of the history of the United States, she looked for every thing—not merely the things to which in her own land she had been familiar, but those for which her fancy had sighed; and *omne ignotum pro magnifico*—she looked for the *spolia opima* of the two worlds of fiction and reality—the one for herself, and the other, in Cincinnati, for her son; and, from all accounts, found neither; besides, as she says, “spending a great deal of money.”

On the subject of her anticipations, however, she keeps us woefully in the dark—her standards of contrast and comparison are, indeed, for ever before our eyes. She compares the miserable township on the Ohio and Mississippi—its streets scarcely marked out, and the trees certainly not yet removed from them, with London and Paris, &c. ; and puts in opposition, the manners and customs of a poor and scattered peasantry on our frontier—not to the working classes—the peasants and manufacturers of her own country at large, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but with what the lady has been accustomed, herself, to encounter in the exclusive circles of her metropolitan world. If, in her seclusion at Cincinnati, she suffers a tedious evening, she exclaims, “ah! how different in London!” and this standard is forever present to her imagination. *Cincinnati* has no fine palaces—no glorious walks—no singular and fascinating luxuries of fashion or frivolity—no lofty steeples, such as make London a boast and by word, no pillar, which

“Mounting to the skies,

Like a tall bully lifts its head and lies”—

no places like Almack's, of easy lounge, unblushing lust and fearless larceny—nothing, indeed, of that happy condition of refinement, which is never in danger of that *mauvaise honte*, in her eye such an unhappy feature of the Americans—which is seldom shocked at short petticoat and studiously exhibited bust, which does not shrink, (so that he be polite) from contact and commerce with the confirmed and declared debauchee. We are quite willing to believe, and do not hesitate to admit, that, in our country, delicacy sometimes puts on, among our females, a too stiff and starched formality of demeanour; the only evil consequence of which, apart from what it subtracts from the grace of society, is the unhappy effect which it perhaps has, in sometimes impelling the other sex, to seek elsewhere, and in places of more questionable propriety, for that freedom of speech and habit, which makes so much of the attractiveness of women. We also believe that our men labour under too many of those deficiencies of manner—some of which our author has particularly dwelt upon—without which society must always lack some of its charms; but, it would be drawing too largely, by far, upon our spirit of liberality and concession, to require us to admit, that, in the main, we are not thereby greatly the gainers in a true and precious morality, and in a solid and manly independence of character, which, though sometimes too rugged and familiar in its guise, is nevertheless far more apt to be virtuous and patriotic. Our women may lack the voluptuous grace, but they are also free from the vicious worthlessness of the courtesan; our men may indulge in the use of a nauseous and unnecessary weed, but they are never idle, are never beggars, and we seldom hear of

an American highwayman. It is surely unnecessary, until we know what in reason can be required of us, as a nation, to undertake either to account for, or defend our deficiencies. What, let us ask, should be required of us? What should the Englishman—he who at no very remote period emerged from barbarism himself, (if, indeed—which is very doubtful, looking at the condition of his affairs at present—he has yet done so) what should he require of us? The badges of his savage state are not yet entirely from his limbs—he still wears the chain and collar of ignorance and destitution—he still groans under a despotism and sway, which he has not yet discovered to be illegitimate, or which, though having the power, he wants the courage to remove—he still clings to his ancient feudal usages, as tenaciously as their consequences will cling to him and to his children, even to the third generation—he still adheres to laws and authorities having their birth in a period of barbarian insecurity and lawlessness; and prefers them, seemingly, with all their inaptitude to his present necessities and condition, because he will not venture upon the deep, strong waters—though with the successful example of our pilgrim fathers in his eyes—of a toilsome but glorious experiment. What should he expect from America? he who still lingers in apathy, unwilling to go back, unable to remain where he is, and trembling to go forward! It is of him we should ask, what are the expectations entertained of infant America? What should be her progress—what her triumphs over, and what her relationships to, the countries around her, and the nations from which she sprung? We are not ashamed, and certainly not unwilling to answer to *him*, the inquiry into what we have done, and what we have become. The book of Mrs. Trollope, full as it is of malignant exaggeration, adroit sarcasm, and paltry inuendo, will, of itself, triumphantly for America, reply to the question if put by *him*. It is only necessary to say what *he* is, and to indicate what *we* are. It is enough to describe him struggling without avail for those privileges of life and freedom, given him at his birth, but wrested from his possession and enjoyment by the very nation to which he gives up his energies, and for which he has spilt, and continues to spill, his blood like water, on the deeps and on the deserts—many a league from the narrow boundary which takes his labour without gratitude, and appropriates his spoil and his glory without honour or reward. He cries out for his birthright; and cunning and custom, and an artificial inequality of condition, deny him his prayer; and we see him raving with desperate hopelessness, like a famished lion in his native forest, from which the more adroit hunter has carried off all the prey. Let Mrs. Trollope draw for *him* the picture, and present to his eyes the comparison between the Briton and the American. She will describe—she does de-

scribe for the latter, a numerous and a contented people—increasing in power, in population and prosperity—happy in the institutions, which, if they show no pampered and isolated classes, afford equal protection to the liberties of all, and strangle not their industry, and obstruct not their enterprise. She depicts them—resolute in overcoming obstacles—energetic and fearless in the pursuit of their own happiness amidst dangers and difficulties—ambitious of glory and applause—emulous of other nations; and though they may have but just begun the march, advancing on their way with a keen diligence, which promises neither to fail nor falter until they shall have attained the high eminence of perfect equality with all of them.

ART. VI.—*A General View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy, chiefly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.* By the Right Honourable Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, LL.D., F. R. S., M. P. Carey & Lea: Philadelphia: 1832.

NOTHING inspires more confidence in human nature, than to trace the steps, at first faltering and impeded, but eventually vigorous and successful, by which truth emerges to light. Ignorance and doubt like thick darkness hang over it; selfishness and prejudice place obstacles in its path,—it penetrates, surmounts all. The history of those truths of which the world are now in peaceable possession, but which have been secured through struggles more or less disheartening, is most instructive. It warns us not to despair of humanity. It justifies the assurance that all within the sphere of its capacity it has a right to possess, and will in the end obtain. And who shall mark the limits of its capacity? “Philosophy, (says one of the lights of this age) is but of yesterday,”—and it would be rash to expect even a vision of its unmeasured future. As well might we attempt to calculate the myriads of new stars which improvements of the optical art may reveal to eyes destined to pierce the depths of heaven, when ours have been closed for ages.

The object of the author of the work before us, has been “to develop the fundamental principles of ethical theory in that historical order in which meditation and discussion brought them successively into a clearer light,”—including an examination of the writers who have aided the progress of moral philosophy; particularly those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of the English school. The imperfections of their systems have gathered as rust over their intrinsic merit, and they are

gradually becoming dispossessed of the high place they held when first brought forth. While we of the present generation are walking in the increasing brightness of philosophy, we are too apt to forget the merits of those great men, who each in his turn did something for the cause, and without whose labours we should be far behind the station we have now reached. In tracing the history of ethical science, our author has not merely rendered to each his due in awarding the share he had in its progress, but he has stopped, with no unwilling hand, and with the happiest skill, to retouch their forgotten merits, and to bring out in a just light their genius and discoveries. Ascribing their mistakes to the true causes, the bias of the times, the imperfection of language, the infancy of science, he has set forth with all his power their talents and their virtues, which, so far from being borrowed from their age, enabled them to keep in advance of it, and having commanded the admiration of their contemporaries; entitle them to our veneration and gratitude. This work, in addition to its value as an outline of the whole subject, and without impairing the unity of the sketch, affords a gallery of masterly portraits, whose fine features and happiest expression are preserved by the pencil of genius, which adds to the truth of the representation its own unborrowed charm.

The felicity of discrimination, for which this work is distinguished, is in ethical subjects, something more than mere intellectual power, and betokens a co-operation of the understanding and the heart. So intimately are the feelings blended with the purely intellectual states, in all the processes of thought—so just, or so deceitful, may be the aspects to which they direct attention—that sound judgment on moral matters cannot be expected from a mind in which their influence is not pure and amiable. Candour, not less than acuteness, is required to make the upright and able judge;—and surely the capacity of loving and admiring the beautiful and the good (a capacity which not mere intellectual ability, however great, can ever impart) is an essential pre-requisite to the office of describing and appreciating them. As the experience and enjoyment of all those affections and delights which flow from the heart, are the only legitimate sources from which the moralist can draw the facts of ethical science, so are they the best qualifications for writing its history. These qualifications are apparent in this work. Those parts which treat of the value of the kind affections, the importance of purity, and the inward satisfaction of virtue, induce the belief that what is so ably and feelingly described, must be the familiar inmate and bosom friend of him who has thus described it. The subject is one of wide interest, and though purely philosophical and abstract, is involved in no mysticism, but is treated with a clearness, condensation, and beauty, which render it instructive and

interesting to every cultivated mind. The remarkable transparency and vigour of the style, proves it to be the spontaneous manifestation of clear and nervous thought; every sentence, every word *tells*; has a definite aim and effects it; leaves you with something tangible, a perception of the exact state of the case, of what has been done and who has done it; why they did no more, what remains for others to do, and what probability there is of its being effected.

We shall attempt (taking Sir James Mackintosh as our guide) to follow the progress of ethical philosophy, with all possible brevity, resting a moment on the great names of those who mark its eras, and whose labours have brought to it the most important accessions.

Partial views, and the imperfection of language, are among the most serious impediments to the advancement of science; a retrospect of the steps of its progress is one remedy, by presenting us with the different aspects which successive minds have caught, and by exhibiting that varied use of all the terms which can be pressed into the service of philosophy, from which only an accurate and copious nomenclature can be obtained. The imperfection of language is peculiarly felt by the moral philosopher; it meets our author on the threshold of his work, and is well described and illustrated in the Introduction. "The Natural Philosopher and Mathematician, have, in some degree, the privilege of framing their own terms of art, though that liberty is daily narrowed by the happy diffusion of knowledge, which daily mixes their language with the general vocabulary of educated men." This privilege has never been conceded to the moral philosopher; but while the nicest discrimination of language is required, he is obliged to employ terms and treat of matters common to all men. "The necessity of being intelligible, which the diffusion of knowledge imposes on the philosopher, is," says our author, "the only effectual check to the extravagancies to which metaphysical speculations too frequently tend," and however it may increase his labours, ought not to be regretted;—while it enlarges the sphere of his influence, it limits the range of his inquiries to the boundaries of human knowledge, and enlightens him as to the nature of his discoveries; for it will be perceived that what cannot be rendered intelligible to every well educated mind, must be radically false or obscure. The Christian religion, to use the words of Sir James, "has brought down the most awful and the most beautiful forms of moral truth, to the humblest station in human society," and that diffusion of intelligence which its ameliorating influence has, more than any other cause, contributed to effect, is fast bringing the truths of philosophy forth from the closets of the initiated, to the examination and the free use of all men. Thus, liberty and knowledge

cannot long remain separated, and virtue and pure religion are their natural pioneers, and their only effectual guards.

As an illustration of the imperfection of language, we may state a fact noticed by the author, that the whole class of mental phenomena of which ethical science treats, is as yet without any fixed generic name. The difference between the feeling or "emotive" part of our nature, and the purely intellectual, has been generally overlooked.

Neither has another distinction (essentially preliminary) between moral emotions themselves and their objects, been observed; though nothing satisfactory in the science can be expected, unless it be kept in view. There is no subject on which mankind are so uniformly agreed, as the worth and obligation of virtue; yet what is the distinguishing character of virtue, and what the origin of its authority, are still matters of dispute. These inquiries form the subject of a theory of morals; it is evident they relate to two perfectly distinct subjects, "the nature of the distinction between right and wrong," and "the nature of those feelings with which right and wrong are contemplated by human beings." Though radically distinct, they have frequently been confounded, and to this confusion may be ascribed much that is contradictory and erroneous in ethical philosophy. An account of the various answers attempted to be made to these inquiries, properly forms the history of ethics.

As the principal object of this work, is the state of ethical philosophy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a very slight notice only of ancient ethics is given, for the purpose of showing in what stage of its development the subject presented itself to the philosophers of modern times.

It appears that the purely philosophical questions which belong to ethics, were little agitated by the ancients. They were content to acknowledge the beauty and the authority of virtue, without doubting, or inquiring into its birthright.

Epicurus was the first to announce in a philosophic form, the important truth, "that man cannot be happy without a virtuous frame of mind." The inference drawn from this truth, that, because happiness is the uniform result of virtue, therefore it is its motive and origin, was unwarranted, and has laid the foundation of some of the oldest errors in ethical philosophy. On the selfish system, the question, "what is happiness," involves the whole of ethics. The earliest theories in morals arose from the inquiry what is the greatest good. According to the Epicureans, pleasure, rationally pursued, is the end and motive of duty. The Stoics held happiness to consist in virtue alone, and to be independent of external circumstances. We cannot but admire a system, which, although it fall short of explaining the whole of the moral nature, has selected the noblest part. Neither these, nor the Pe-

ripatetics, (who took a middle course,) touched the question, "what is the source of the moral faculty," but rather confined their views to the relations of virtue and happiness. The paradoxes into which a theory so incomplete inevitably betrayed the Stoics, instead of suggesting the possibility of defect, only led them to defend it with unfounded assertions and verbal evasions. "It is," says our author, "remarkable that men so acute, did not perceive and acknowledge, that if pain were not an evil, cruelty would not be a vice; and that if patience were of power to render torture indifferent, virtue must expire in the moment of victory."

That dark but not uninformative period, called the Middle Age, connects ancient with modern history. Our author shows that this period has a far more important place in the progress of humanity than has generally been assigned it. The germs of modern civilization, freedom, and invention, may all be found here. The controversies of the schoolmen kept alive the energies of mind by exercising them in the only way which would have been permitted in that age of ecclesiastical domination, and thus, these men, who have been viewed with regret rather than gratitude, as condemned to waste their powers in vain disquisitions, were, in fact, performing no mean service, in developing and maturing the energy which has produced the wonders of our own age. It cannot be doubted that great minds are dealt out by nature with an equal hand, and we are loth to admit with an eloquent writer, (Cousin,) that there is a fatality in their appearance, other than the natural and uniform influence of novel circumstances and trying times, operating only as a touchstone to reveal what might otherwise remain latent. These call forth their powers and determine their path. This is their destiny, the only fatality to which they are subjected,—their motives, their decisions, their constancy,—is moral power, not blind fate, and as such is free and responsible.

It is a curious fact in the history of mind, that the philosophy of the sages of Greece was transmitted to us first through the Mahometans, who have so little availed themselves of its fructifying influences. The causes of that start which it gave to the great men of the middle age, as well as of that peculiar form, the scholastic, which philosophy then assumed, are not undistinguishable. One of these was the character of their religion, which, with all its corruptions, held up to the faith of man the most sublime and ennobling ideas the mind can contemplate. Another, was their spirit of speculation, generated in the freedom of a barbarous origin, and nourished by the leisure and seclusion of a cloister, which denied all other food for the mind, and left the heart almost cheerless. A single spark from the fire of antiquity, though weakened and obscured by its circuitous route, was sufficient to

rouse that spirit which has never since slept, and which has already carried forward humanity to a point beyond any recorded of our race.

"Those who measure only by palpable results, have very consistently regarded the metaphysical and theological controversies of the schools as a mere waste of intellectual power. But the contemplation of the athletic vigour and versatile skill manifested by the European understanding, at the moment when it emerged from this tedious and rugged discipline, leads, if not to approbation, yet to more qualified censure. What might have been the result of a different combination of circumstances, is an inquiry, which, on a large scale, is beyond human power. We may, however, venture to say, that no abstract science, unconnected with religion, was likely to be respected in a barbarous age; and we may be allowed to doubt, whether any knowledge, dependent directly on experience, and applicable to immediate practice, would have so trained the European mind, as to qualify it for that series of inventions, and discoveries, and institutions, which begin with the sixteenth century, and of which no end can now be foreseen, but the extinction of the race of man."—p. 47.

Thus it appears, that this long period received an influence from the ancient philosophy and brought a tribute to the modern, a just estimation of which is requisite to an understanding of the present state of ethical science.

"Though the middle age be chiefly memorable as that in which the foundations of a new order of society, uniting the stability of the Oriental system, without its inflexibility, to the activity of the Hellenic civilization, without its disorder and inconstancy, yet it is not unworthy of notice, on account of the subterranean current which flows through it, from the speculations of ancient, to those of modern times. That dark stream must be uncovered before the history of the European understanding can be thoroughly comprehended. It was lawful for the emancipators of reason, in their first struggles, to carry on mortal war against the schoolmen. The necessity has long ceased; they are no longer dangerous; and it is now felt by philosophers, that it is time to explore and estimate that vast portion of the history of philosophy from which we have scornfully turned our eyes."—p. 36.

Almost all the metaphysical speculations of modern times, some of which are believed to be of later origin, were agitated by the schoolmen; but although their ethical system, as far as it regards the practical parts of morality, can hardly be improved, they also have left untouched those questions of ethical theory which were neglected by the ancients. They do not appear to have discriminated between the nature of moral sentiments and the criterion of moral acts—to have considered to what faculty of our mind moral approbation is referable, or whether this faculty is implanted or acquired. These disquisitions belong to a later period, and are the distinguishing characteristics of the ethics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The situation of the schoolmen was particularly unfavourable to the cultivation of ethical philosophy, shut out as they were, by their vows of celibacy and their monastic life, from all those domestic ties and social feelings which are the main sources of ethical knowledge.

"Neither let it be thought that to have been destitute of letters, was to them no more than a want of ornament and a curtailment of gratification. Every poem, every history, every oration, every picture, every statue is an experiment

on human feeling, the grand object of investigation by the moralist. Every work of genius in every department of ingenious art and polite literature, in proportion to the extent and duration of its sway over the spirits of men, is a repository of ethical facts, of which the moral philosopher cannot be deprived by his own insensibility or by the iniquity of the times, without being robbed of the most precious instruments and invaluable materials of his science. Moreover, letters, which are closer to human feeling than science can ever be, have another influence on the sentiments with which the sciences are viewed, on the activity with which they are pursued, on the safety with which they are preserved, and even on the mode and spirit with which they are cultivated; they are the channels by which ethical science has a constant intercourse with general feeling.

"As the arts called useful maintain the popular honour of physical knowledge, so polite letters allure the world into the neighbourhood of the sciences of mind and of morals. Whenever the agreeable vehicles of literature do not convey their doctrines to the public, they are liable to be interrupted by the dispersion of a handful of recluse doctors, and the overthrow of their barren and unlamented seminaries."—p. 42.

Meantime humanity was on the advance. Limits, altogether arbitrary, but which it was deemed sacrilege to pass, were indeed set to free inquiry; but signs of the coming emancipation were occasionally sent forth, from their courts and councils, till, at last, Luther "struck a blow against all human authority, and unconsciously disclosed to mankind that they were entitled, or rather, bound, to utter their own opinions." Other causes, well known, now conspired to bring philosophy out from under the cowl, and array it in the garb of common and practical life. The unparalleled discoveries and inventions of this period, roused humanity like a giant from his slumber, with full consciousness of his strength. The struggle for independence began; it was fearful—it has not yet ended; but concerning its end we have no longer any misgivings.

The encouraging signs of the times are noticed by our author. They appear in a less theological choice of subjects and mode of treating them: the very titles of their works evince a respect for humanity, and a recognition of its rights. Treatises of "law and justice," of "the rights of war and peace," and even of "the power of kings," appeared in the sixteenth century. Soto, confessor of Charles V., and the author of a treatise on justice, has the honour of being the first writer who condemned the slave trade.

"It is affirmed," says he, (Soto,) "that the unhappy Ethiopians are by fraud or force carried away and sold as slaves. If this is true, neither those who have taken them, nor those who purchase them, nor those who hold them in bondage, can ever have a quiet conscience till they emancipate them, even if no compensation should be obtained." As the work which contains this memorable condemnation of man-stealing and slavery, was the substance of lectures many years delivered at Salamanca, philosophy and religion appear, by the hand of their faithful minister, to have thus smitten the monsters in their earliest infancy. It is hard for any man of the present age to conceive the praise which is due to the excellent monks, who courageously asserted the rights of those whom they never saw, against the prejudices of their order, the supposed interest of their religion, the ambition of their government, the avarice and pride of their countrymen, and the prevalent opinions of their time."—p. 50.

From Grotius may be gained "the most clear and authentic statement of the general principles in morals which prevailed in Christendom after the close of the schools, and before the writings of Hobbes had given rise to those ethical controversies which more particularly belong to modern times."

Natural law, according to Grotius, has its foundation in right reason. Actions which are the subjects of the exertions of reason, are, in themselves, lawful or unlawful. He admitted the originality and immutability of moral distinctions, and referred the perception of this distinction to reason.

Hobbes, who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century, gave a new character to the philosophy of his age. He was, says our author, "one of the late learners and late writers." "It was about his sixtieth year that he began to publish those philosophical writings which contain his peculiar opinions; which set the understanding of Europe into general motion, and stirred up controversies among metaphysicians and moralists not yet determined."

Among the various causes to which he owed his influence, Sir James notices his genius for system, his dogmatism, and his admirable style.

His ethical opinions grew out of his political: having witnessed the fearful consequences, in his own time, of the abuse of religion and liberty, "he formed the bold attempt of rooting out these mighty principles." His first and greatest error in ethics, and that from which all the others flowed, is, his not distinguishing thought from feeling, and thus extending the laws of one over the other, to which they are inapplicable. He also mistook the nature of desire, which, though its gratification is followed by happiness, has reference, in the action it prompts, not to this happiness, but to its own immediate object, without the previous attainment of which this happiness could not even be conceived.

Hobbes not only struck out the affections, but the moral sentiments, from human nature, and comprehended all the springs of action in the perception of pleasure, pain, and the exercise of reason in determining us to secure the one and avoid the other. Although he cannot but acknowledge the necessity of morals to society, yet he exhibits them in the coarsest form, and founds their authority on the perception of personal advantage.

"From his philosophical writings, it would be impossible to conclude that there are in man a set of emotions, desires, and aversions, of which the sole and final objects are the voluntary actions and habitual dispositions of himself and of all other voluntary agents; which are properly called *moral sentiments*; and which, though they vary more in degree, and depend more on cultivation than some other parts of human nature, are as seldom as most of them found to be entirely wanting." p. 67.

One of the beneficial results of the startling doctrines of Hobbes, backed as they were by the matchless powers of their teacher,

was to rouse the attention of thinking minds on the subject. The answers to Hobbes' work, says our author, form a library. Some of his opponents, in their attempts to ennoble virtue, traced it to reason, and by new, though partial views, opened the way for a further approximation to a complete theory of the moral sentiments.

Cumberland has succeeded in showing the inconsistency and untenable character of Hobbes' principles, but is scarcely less exclusive in his own theory than Hobbes himself. According to Cumberland, the law of benevolence, written on our hearts by the finger of God, carries with it its own authority and its own sanction, in the happiness which follows its obedience. He had a glimpse of the reality of disinterestedness, but like many before and after him, confounded the qualities of virtuous action with the sentiments they excite.

Cudworth also explained the moral part of our nature, by the laws of the understanding. In his rejection of the assumption of Hobbes, that right and wrong are unreal, because they are not perceived by the senses, the sole origin of knowledge, Cudworth advances the proposition, that the understanding is the source of ideas not referable to the senses, among which are the ideas of right and wrong.

Clarke also, roused by the dangerous doctrines of Spinoza and Hobbes, endeavoured to place moral distinctions on a solid foundation. He makes virtue to consist in a conformity to the original relations of things which are immutable: reason in perceiving this relation, imposes moral obligations, which are as demonstrable as mathematical truth. But, says our author, the distinctions between right and wrong cannot depend on relations as such, but on a particular class of relations, necessarily involving an intelligent and voluntary agent. Thus this system, like every other which omits what, for want of a better term, must be called the emotions or feelings, exhibits "an extraordinary vacuity," and leaves untouched the very root of the matter.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, the contemporary of Clarke, in his ethical writings, particularly his *Enquiry concerning Virtue*, (on which Sir James bestows great praise,) threw out some important hints concerning the originality and disinterestedness of the moral principles, which are the first indications of a moral sense.

"His demonstration of the utility of virtue to the individual, far surpasses all attempts of the same nature; being founded, not on a calculation of outward advantages or inconveniences, alike uncertain, precarious, and degrading, but on the unshaken foundation of the delight, which is the very essence of social affection and virtuous sentiment; on the dreadful agony inflicted by all malevolent passions, upon every soul that harbours the hellish inmates; on the all important truth that to love is to be happy, and to hate is to be miserable—that affection is its own reward, and ill-will its own punishment, or, as it has been more simply, and more affectingly, as well as with more sacred authority, taught, that to

give is more blessed than to receive, and that to love one another is the sum of all human virtue." p. 94.

Sir James notices the controversy between Fenelon and Bossuet concerning the possibility of a purely disinterested love to God, as an incident deserving a place in the history of ethics. We cannot forbear extracting his description of these two distinguished minds.

"Never were two great men more unlike. Fenelon, in his writings, exhibits more of the qualities which predispose to religious feelings, than any other equally conspicuous person; a mind so pure as steadily to contemplate supreme excellence; a heart capable of being touched and affected by the contemplation; a gentle and modest spirit, not elated by the privilege, but seeing its own want of worth as it came nearer to such brightness, and disposed to treat with compassionate forbearance, those errors in others, of which it felt a humbling consciousness. Bossuet was rather a great minister in the ecclesiastical commonwealth; employing knowledge, eloquence, argument, the energy of his character, the influence and even the authority of his station, to vanquish opponents, to extirpate revolvers, and, sometimes with a patrician firmness, to withstand the dictatorial encroachment of the Roman pontiff on the spiritual aristocracy of France." p. 96.

The ancient prejudice that such an abstraction as happiness could be the object of love and the motive to moral conduct, obscured that vision of the reality of the disinterested affections, which revealed itself to the great mind of Leibnitz, even more clearly than it had been seen by Shaftesbury. Ethical philosophy was evidently preparing to take a new step, and to pass from the region of abstraction to that of feeling. Malebranche made virtue to consist in the love of order: Edwards in the love of being; both still clinging to abstractions, but "confessing by the use of the word *love*, that not only perception and reason, but emotion and sentiment, are among the fundamental principles of morals." The history of the seventeenth century closes with Buffier, whose moral theory coincides with the selfish systems which found virtue on the rational pursuit of our own happiness—adding another distinguished name to the list of those who have mistaken tendency for motive, in moral sentiments.

Self was hitherto regarded as the first principle of action, and was in some form or other, made the foundation of every moral theory. The attempt of some writers to ennoble the view, by referring morals to reason, did not essentially alter this foundation, since it was in a process derived from considerations to our *own* advantage, that they laid the foundation of all virtue. A few others, who had struck on the true vein, appear to have remained unconscious of its intrinsic value, and their indications can only be regarded as signs of a more comprehensive and just theory.

With Butler commences a new era in ethics. He stood on the vantage ground disclosed by Shaftesbury—yet that he was able to comprehend with such clearness nearly the whole field

of morals, is owing not less to the superiority of his intellectual vision, than to his favourable situation. He was the first to discover that mankind have various principles of action, some leading to private good, others to the good of the community; each aiming at its appropriate gratification. Self love is the desire of one's own happiness, whereas these desires seek some outward thing. Thus he marks the just distinction, hitherto overlooked, between the end of desire and that of happiness, which is the result of its gratification, and a generalized view of which, is the foundation of self love. To these he added the supremacy of conscience, whose authority he regarded as original and supreme, whose office it is to survey and judge both affections and actions—the inner and outward man. His theory contains nothing false, though it has fallen somewhat short of the truth. A step further, says Mackintosh, would have led him to perceive that self love is altogether a secondary formation, the result of the joint operation of reason and habit on the primary desires, and as truly a derived principle as any of the social affections or acquired passions. While he fully sets forth the rightful supremacy of conscience, to which every heart can testify, he ventures not on the unsettled ground of its origin. Another important point left undetermined by him, is the question, what is the distinguishing quality common to all virtuous actions—that moral essence, which it has so long defied the efforts of ethical alchemy to seize.

The theory of Butler is principally derived from his sermons, which are among the most able compositions in the language.

“In these sermons he has taught truths more capable of being exactly distinguished from the doctrines of his predecessors, more satisfactorily established by him, more comprehensively applied to particulars, more rationally connected with each other, and therefore more worthy of the name of discovery, than any with which we are acquainted; if we ought not, with some hesitation, to except the first steps of the Grecian philosophers, towards a theory of morals.” p. 115.

That they are not more known and read, is ascribed by Sir James to their style—“no thinker so great,” says he, “was ever so bad a writer.” To this we cannot altogether assent. It may be owing to our associating his powerful and original thoughts with the language in which they are conveyed, that his style appears to us to be, though a plain, not an unworthy garb, and not to exhibit that want of strength and distinctness ascribed to it by our author. The Analogy, a work of superior strength, scarcely falls within the province of ethics.

Hutcheson, whose writings appeared about the same time with Butler's, coincides with him in two important particulars; that disinterested affections and a distinct moral faculty, are essential parts of human nature. He first discerned the true nature and foundation of the secondary desires. The term “moral sense,” first introduced by Hutcheson, is now in general use. He expresses by it a capacity to perceive moral ideas, which, accord-

ing to him, is an implanted principle. With him, the object of moral approbation is benevolence, and he also has not escaped the error of confounding the theory of moral sentiments with the criterion of moral actions. To Hutcheson the author ascribes that proneness to multiply ultimate principles, which characterizes the Scottish school. *Berkely*, "a great metaphysician, was but little of a moralist, and it requires the attraction of his name to excuse his introduction here." "His works are beyond dispute the finest models of philosophical style since Cicero." The object of *Hume* was to prove, not merely that nothing was known, but that nothing could be known. As he left the theory of morals on the same foundations with other principles of our nature, his scepticism need not alarm us, especially as no writer has described more happily, or enforced with more ability, the beauty and the value of virtue. As soon as scepticism becomes universal it is harmless. There are few propositions which a skilful sophist may not envelop in doubt, but when he draws the mist over the whole circle of feelings and beliefs, consciousness breaks in and dispels the temporary oblivion. It can hardly be said that any new step was taken in ethical philosophy by Hume, but he gave assurance and distinctness to views previously obtained. "That general utility constitutes a ground of moral distinctions is a part of his theory which can never be impugned;" he is less clear and happy in his account of moral approbation, which he derives from sympathy, or an interest in the well-being of others implanted by nature. He treats vice with too much indulgence, and confounds that admiration which intellectual superiority calls forth, with the approbation accorded only to virtue. His *Enquiry concerning Virtue*, which was regarded by himself as his best work, is ranked by Sir James among the best ethical treatises in our language.

A new element, (or lest this expression be thought to involve the theory of derivation to which we are not quite prepared to assent), an unobserved feature in the character of moral sentiments, was developed by *Adam Smith*. He is the first writer who has drawn attention to the curious phenomena of sympathy; but although he has noticed the influence which sympathy has on our moral sentiments, he has not detected the transmuting process by which this is effected, and he has pressed this principle into too wide a service; overlooking the imperative character of the moral faculty which would not be traced to sympathy, he renders all morality dependent on the feelings of others, and leaves no criterion for the estimation of moral actions. About the same time with the publication of the "*Theory of Moral Sentiments*," Price made an attempt to revive "the intellectual theory of moral obligation," but did not advance one step in the solution of its vital question, the "authority of conscience over

the will." The name which ought to rank next to Butler in the value of his ethical labours, is that of Hartley. To him belongs the merit of first applying the well known principle of association to morals, though he himself has the fairness to ascribe the suggestion to other sources. This application of the principle constitutes his difference from, and his superiority to Condillac. Many causes have contributed to conceal the value of this part of Hartley's system, among which, his physiological theory is not the least. Like other philosophers, he has overlooked, or failed explicitly to announce the distinction between perception and emotion. This confusion has misled him into the use of the phrase "association of ideas," whereas the moral sentiments result not from an association of ideas merely, but of ideas and emotions. Conscience, according to Hartley, results from an association of those affections, desires, and emotions, which have for their ultimate object the dispositions and actions of voluntary agents. From these "a new product appears, which becomes perfectly distinct from the elements which composed it." This, in the opinion of our author, is the nearest approach yet made to a true and complete account of the moral sentiments. The only thing wanted is the recognition of that perfect unity, essential to the moral faculty, and which, as we shall hereafter see, is, according to the theory of Mackintosh himself, a necessary result of the perfect fusion of all the elements which enter into the formation of conscience.

Benevolence and sympathy are also explained by Hartley on the principle of association. The pleasure we receive from kind acts is associated with the author, and becomes, in time, transferred to him. The emotions of our own breast are, by the same process, conveyed to others; the sense of justice is accounted for in the same way, and remorse is the transfer to ourselves of those sentiments of anger and hate which are excited by injury from others. The affections of veneration and love inspired by our fellow men, are, by the same law of association, transferred to that Supreme Maker, who, our reason tells us, must exist, and be the author of the universe. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory to us; association modifies, generalizes, and enhances these other principles of the mind; it transfers the desires and affections to new objects, but does not itself account for their origin and distinguishing characters.

Tucker borrowed the principle of association from Hartley, not improving, and in some cases impairing its clearness. *Tucker* is an easy, diffuse, and philosophical writer; in his illustrations he is superior to Hartley, but he fails in general principles. He did not recognise the independent and new character which secondary desires assume when once formed; neither did he clearly perceive that self love is one of them. He also was betrayed

into the fault of confounding the tendency with the motive of virtue.

The good which the writings of Paley have done, both to the cause of religion and morality, though it may soften the feelings with which we view his philosophic errors, renders it more important to point them out clearly, than if they proceeded from a less respectable source. His good sense, nice observation, and happy illustration on practical subjects, leave us in surprise that he failed to discern the general laws which embrace the particular cases so well described by him. His ethical theory is not only narrow but false, excluding, if truly followed out, all the virtues except those which relate to the well-being of self. A contemplation of our own benefit is, according to this theory, the motive and the criterion of virtuous acts; benevolence and even magnanimity are thus confounded with self love, and remorse cannot be distinguished from misfortune. How few will agree with him, among those who have reflected on the emotions of conscience, either when they have done good or when they have done evil!

Sir James introduces with reluctance into his work the name of a living writer, but he says the slightest sketch of ethical controversy in England would be incomplete without the name of Bentham. He dissents from his theory, and blames the exclusive nature of his system, no less than his intemperate zeal in its inculcation. He admits that the stamp of genius is on his works, and that his error consists rather in carrying right principles too far, than in enforcing bad ones. He has done more than any other writer to rouse the spirit of juridical reform. The principle of utility, too obvious not to have been long ago recognised, and, as the history of ethics proves, more liable to be carried to excess than to be overlooked, is "preached by Mr. Bentham with all the zeal of a discoverer," while the fault of confounding emotions with their objects, leads him into contradictory and inconsequential reasoning. His school falls into the error common to the utilitarian system, of dwelling on the external advantages of virtue, to the exclusion of its internal rewards, which are of surpassing excellence. Had these philosophers more frequently penetrated to her sacred presence-chamber in the interior of the soul, they could not have remained unbelievers in her divine and all-commanding nature. By yielding to the "very vulgar prejudice which treats the unseen as insignificant," the later moralists who have adopted the principle of utility, have substituted a weaker motive than naturally prompts us to virtue, and thus not only lowered the standard, but abated the zeal of its pursuit.

All the moralists of Scotland have maintained the disinterestedness of the social affections, and the supreme authority of the moral sentiments—Brown only is excepted by Sir James, and,

as we think, unjustly. According to Brown, the moral faculty is simple, not compounded, and consists solely in an original capacity for moral emotions. Virtue is the agent acting in certain circumstances, and cannot have an existence separate from such agents; virtue and vice, therefore, when used to express general ideas, are mere abstractions, and express a class of actions which agree in being the cause of moral emotions. This is not denying the immutability or reality of moral distinctions, though Brown owns that their universality must be limited to the minds which feel the emotions; this is an universality coequal with mind, consequently with the Deity himself. He admits the supremacy of conscience, which he powerfully and beautifully describes, and the disinterestedness of virtue.* He does not distinguish clearly between those affections and desires which are irreflective, and that consciousness of accountability which is the most distinguishing element, if not the very essence of conscience. He allows but a small share to reason in the formation of the moral sentiments; so far, says he, from being the principle from which we derive our moral sentiments, reason, in all its judgments about virtue, presupposes these sentiments.

No writer has had the good fortune to pour the light of philosophy on a larger proportion of his cotemporaries, than *Dugald Stewart*. The beauty of his style, the elevation and benevolence of his sentiments, have allured many to the higher walks of philosophy, who, but for such inducements, might never have sought them.

"Perhaps few men ever lived, who poured into the breasts of youth a more fervid, and yet reasonable love of liberty, of truth, and of virtue. How many are still alive, in different countries, and in every rank to which education reaches, who, if they accurately examined their own minds and lives, would not ascribe much of whatever goodness or happiness they possess, to the early impressions of his gentle and persuasive eloquence! He lived to see his disciples distinguished among the lights and ornaments of the council and of the senate. He had the consolation to be sure that no words of his promoted the growth of an impure taste, of an exclusive prejudice, of a malevolent passion. Without derogation from his writings, it may be said that his disciples were among his best works. He, indeed, who may be justly said to have cultivated an extent of mind, which would otherwise have lain barren, and to have contributed to raise virtuous dispositions where the natural growth might have been useless or noxious, is not less a benefactor of mankind, and may indirectly be a larger contributor to knowledge, than the author of great works, or even the discoverer of important truths. The system of conveying scientific instruction to a large audience by lectures, from which the English universities have in a great measure departed, renders his qualities as a lecturer, a most important part of his merit in a Scottish university, which still adheres to the general method of European education. Probably no modern ever exceeded him in that species of eloquence which springs from sensibility to literary beauty and moral excellence; which neither obscures science by prodigal ornament, nor disturbs the serenity of patient attention; but though it rather calms and soothes the feelings, yet exalts the genius, and insensibly inspires a reasonable enthusiasm for whatever is good and fair."—p. 213.

* See Lectures 74, 75, and 81.

If his genius rarely rose to the elevation of abstract speculation, this could not be ascribed to any want of power, since it has, when required, sustained him there with the ease of one not transgressing his native element—it was because he preferred a region fraught with more practical results. The supreme authority of conscience, the immutability of moral distinctions, and the disinterestedness of virtue, are truths which he recognises, and which have gained much from his writings. The perception of the immutability of moral distinctions is by this philosopher referred to reason, and is, according to him, accompanied with a conviction as immediate and undivided as that by which we perceive mathematical truth. Reason, with him, includes our whole rational nature, and is the source of all elementary ideas, except such as are derived from the senses. The compound nature of the moral faculty was observed by Stewart, though he has not pursued this idea to its full development;—which Mackintosh has done, in the work before us. “Our moral perceptions and emotions,” he says, “are, in fact, the result of different principles combined together.” He also perceived that the moral phenomena never appeared unless volition were present; but he does not appear to realize fully the importance of this circumstance. He was more bent on establishing the immutability of moral distinctions and the supreme authority of conscience, as a governing power of the mind, than in tracing with metaphysical exactness its origin and early development.

All these philosophers, whom we have noticed, have contributed to the progress of ethical science, either by the unfolding of new truths, or by imparting additional clearness and efficacy to such as were already known. Butler and Hartley have, perhaps, done more than any other writers; the first in disclosing the disinterestedness of virtue, the rightful supremacy of conscience, and the independent nature of the desires and affections; the second in tracing the secondary formation of self love, benevolence, and many of the passions and desires, and in applying the principle of association to the explanation of the moral faculty. With the views of these two able and original minds, our author coincides, almost entirely, as far as they go; he takes up the thread where they left it, and carries it on to a nearer approximation to completion. According to the system of Hartley, gratitude, pity, resentment, shame, &c., are original affections of the mind: association connects them indissolubly with the will, on which they are constantly operating, and which is an universal principle; they then become moral sentiment; therefore association is the cause or principle to which moral sentiments are to be referred. In Mackintosh’s opinion, Hartley has stopped short of the truth, and has overlooked the unity or “oneness” of the moral faculty. Association, he says, is not a mere transfer

of the affections and desires to the will, but a fusion of the whole, from which results a new product, viz. conscience—the thing required. In this compound the constituent elements are no longer discoverable, and it becomes “a substantive principle of human nature”—“unity in the result being perfectly compatible with its origin in composition.” The universality and the authority which belong to conscience are to be ascribed to the will, which is one element of the compound.

“The truth seems to be, that the moral sentiments in their mature state, are a class of feelings; which have no other object but the mental dispositions, leading to voluntary action, and the voluntary actions which flow from these dispositions.” According to this theory, conscience is a principle of secondary formation; but of universal agency and efficiency, and as much a constituent part of our nature as the original desires, or the powers of reason, will, and habit, which all, through the influence of association, co-operate in its formation. Provision is made for the uniformity of the result, in the laws and conditions of every human mind. Mackintosh has clearly shown, that the question of the disinterestedness and supreme authority of the moral sentiments is not necessarily connected with that of a derived or implanted origin, and he contends that all who adopt his theory are entitled to assume both these essential characteristics of conscience. That the law of association is one of wide influence, and operates in the formation of secondary desires and principles, has been clearly shown by Hartley and others; but we cannot agree with our author, that these cases present processes and results essentially like those by which he explains the formation of conscience; the secondary desires are, as we apprehend, simple transfers made by association, and not new products. They often exceed in strength the primary, from which they spring, and even root them out entirely; but when a desire of the advantages which wealth or power command is transferred to these means, so indissolubly that we relinquish for their sake the very objects on whose account they were first sought, here is no *new* emotion or principle, but merely a transfer of an emotion already experienced, to an object which has not before excited it: it is the object, not the sentiment which is new. And in the acquired perceptions of sight, there is not, strictly speaking, a new product—nothing which may not be analyzed into perceptions of the senses of sight, and feeling, and a judgment or process of reason. These become, by repetition, so rapid in their succession as to seem one idea, or rather we lose the consciousness of the perception, and retain only that of the judgment. That this is so, may be proved by those delusions which are sometimes caused by imperfect vision, and which cannot be recalled at pleasure. When we discover that we have mistaken in the twilight the

stump of a tree for a man, although the senses render the same ideas which they did before we were aware of the mistake, yet we cannot recover the perception, because the judgment or inference is separated from these sensations. This union, though rarely dissolved, and appearing as one, in consequence of the rapidity of the succession, is not incapable of dissolution, and cannot therefore be regarded as a new product. We are aware, that even if it be admitted, that these effects of association are not new products, essentially unlike their compound parts, yet this, of itself, furnishes no proof that conscience may not be so, and generated precisely in the way described by our author; we would only say, that, as it appears to us, he is mistaken with regard to the exact character of these combinations, and that they do not afford him even the support of analogy.

That volition is an all-important element in moral sentiments, is too obvious not to have been observed by almost every ethical writer of ancient and modern times. Aristotle defines virtue to be "right practical habits, voluntary in their origin;" and the philosophers of the English school have all seen, more or less clearly, that virtue was a quality which could be ascribed only to free agents. No one has placed this truth on firmer ground, than the author of the work before us. "A deliberation of conscience, (he says) precedes every voluntary act, as much when it is defeated as when it prevails;" and again, "moral approbation is limited to voluntary acts." This is undoubted, and the reason of this is the very point to be determined. For a full exposition of the author's views on the subject, we refer the reader to his remarks on Butler, p. 110, and also to the general remarks at the end of the book. "Conscience is the product of the *association* of desires and affections, whose direct objects are the sentiments which influence the dispositions and actions of voluntary agents." "The peculiar character of the moral sentiments," he also says, "is their exclusive reference to states of will." The phrase moral sentiments, is generally used as synonymous with conscience, and this has caused some indistinctness. Conscience is the simple feeling of accountability, the voice within, which we cannot choose but hear; moral sentiment expresses not only this feeling but the emotions and judgments which address themselves to, and are indissolubly associated with conscience. A consideration of the important part which volition bears in all moral phenomena, has led us to the conclusion, that conscience is not a principle derived from association, and not even a new product whose component elements are assimilated by association;—but that conscience (which is a feeling of accountability) is involved in the possession of free agency, and its essential concomitant; that volition is not merely one element in the compound, but that it includes it in its essence. We are conscious of accountability

word which is ultimate—for the good we have it in our power to do, and for the consequences of our actions, not to others merely, but to ourselves; and this feeling cannot be resolved into any thing else; for in every analysis, we do not merely arrive at something new, (for this we admit would be the case on our author's theory) but, we never touch *conscience* till we have reached volition; and when we have done this, we are in possession of that perfect feeling of responsibility, which gives the peculiar character of this principle, and which escapes again the moment we deprive it of volition. The will, therefore, that is, the power of free agency, is the only one to which we can refer this distinguishing trait of humanity, and this, not in consequence of its combination with other elements, but of its own underived nature. It is a rational free agency; for although the moral faculty cannot be resolved into reason, inasmuch as it consists in a state of mind very different from reason, a state of emotion; yet it can only be conceived as belonging to a being endowed with a capacity of reflecting, comparing, analyzing, and judging; since the dictates of conscience, though they are not these operations of reason, presuppose, and are guided by them. The development of the moral feelings, is contemporary with reason and volition,—then is heard that commanding voice, conscience, pronouncing that solemn word *ought*, expressive of an emotion so wholly unlike any other in the heart of man, that it is never mistaken for a moment. It is at first feeble, commencing at a period, (as our author has shown) too early to be traced with any distinctness which might assist us in discovering its origin; but as our views and associations enlarge, we perceive a wider field for its exercise, and recognise our duty to embrace it as far as lies in our power. Like every other principle of our nature, it is susceptible of high cultivation and various modifications, yet it retains its distinctive character throughout.

The distinction between the nature of moral sentiments themselves, and of their objects, is carefully maintained by Mackintosh, though overlooked by almost every other ethical writer, and he has shown that these objects always include voluntary action. Some dispositions, and the actions flowing from them, are more lovely than others, and are pursued for their own sake; but it is the consciousness of the power to choose or reject, and that awful conviction of responsibility for the use of it, which calls forth the sentiments of approbation and disapprobation. Beneficial tendency, the uniform attendant on virtuous actions, is soon discerned by reason, and becomes a consideration which addresses itself to conscience. The worthiness of certain affections and sentiments, and the unworthiness of others, together with the actions which express them, belongs only to voluntary agents. These qualities address themselves to our sense of accountability

and duty. Their distinctions are original, and cannot be resolved into a perception of utility, or any other end foreign to themselves.

Although we cannot ascribe to association any power beyond that of a simple transfer of sentiments to new objects, or a combination of separate ideas, which by repetition are made to appear like one, yet we are not unmindful of the important part it performs in its own sphere, with regard to our moral sentiments; not generating, indeed, that peculiar feeling, which is ever to us like a present Deity, enthroned within, dispensing its terrors and its smiles with an invisible but irresistible power, but combining into an apparent union those affections and judgments which address themselves to this faculty. The indissolubleness of this union accounts for that common fault, noticed by our author, of confounding the moral principle with its objects, and that confusion of abstractions and emotions which has led to contradictory assumption and incomplete views in moral philosophy.

The influence of association is not unfrequently unfavourable to morals—it connects with views of benefit and duty, actions and sentiments foreign or even opposed to them, and thus sanctions what is base and unjust. Here, then, comes in the beneficial aid of reason; it analyzes these unfortunate combinations, points out the causes and extent of abuse, and enlightens conscience, which, though it may mistake as to what *is* duty, never flinches in its command to follow what it regards as such, however painful or difficult. Were it not for reason, this mighty power, capable of such god-like efforts, might be perverted to the worst purposes, and instead of the glory, become the scourge of men. How beautiful is the mutual aid and dependence of the various principles of human nature—how fatal the mistake to divorce reason from conscience, benevolence from self love, duty from happiness, or to attempt to substitute one for the other, since it is only through the just measure and fair co-operation of them all, that perfection can be reached !

The difference between ourselves and the author, may not be thought important. By both, volition is regarded as the uniform and distinguishing feature of the moral faculty, but to us it appears that this difference amounts to that of a derived or an implanted principle,—a question which, as the author has shown, is purely philosophical, and does not affect the authority of conscience or the practical rules founded on its sanctions.

Sir James concludes his *View of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, with a very slight mention of the state of the science in Germany. This topic, he says, requires a work by itself, and he thinks that it had better be omitted entirely, than not treated with the fulness it deserves. It is certainly a serious omission, and ~~we~~ could have wished that the same masterly hand which

has traced the opinions and discoveries of the English school, had given us as able and faithful a sketch of the German.

But this hope can no longer be entertained. Since the foregoing remarks were written, Sir James Mackintosh has paid the debt of nature, and the world has lost one of its brightest ornaments and most eloquent instructors. We could not do justice to his beautiful work; neither can we to his noble career and character. The signal merits of the man and his productions will, no doubt, be properly exhibited in Great Britain.

ART. VII.—*The British Revolution of 1688.* Par Mons. MAZURE. Paris.

THE history of the downfall of kings, and destruction of monarchies, forms the triumph of republics. The waste of empires and degradation of their rulers, are events, however, belonging as much to the philosophy of mind, as to the science of government, and interest as deeply him who reflects on the motives of human conduct, as one who is the creature or director of its impulses. They are not the necessary consequence of the debility of age, nor entirely the effect of a bad system—but ensue from the increase of knowledge among the mass of men, and display the progressive improvement of human intellect. They form eras and starting points for the future advancement of political science, and guide the statesman to those causes of interference with the right government of a nation, that lie involved among its movements, but yet tend to its subversion. They are not the feeble emanations of unformed opinions or fluctuating power—but great results—arising from causes whose action is unceasing. All forms of government, like the human body, contain within themselves the principles of life and decay—they have too their youth and their age—but their destruction appears often to advance more rapidly than their improvement, till the spirit of the times renews existence, and regenerates their energies. This, no government can withstand. It is a creative or a destroying faculty—the expression of a determined will, concentrated on new objects, and intent on new views. But it is rather the result of circumstances than the growth of time, for ages pass away, and leave nations stationary and weighed down by bad rule.

The administration of the affairs of a nation, appears the last thing to which its attention is turned. A feeling of attachment, in all old countries, and respect for their institutions, adds to their stability, though it may not beyond a certain degree en-

hance their utility. The people lose in their interests, that which is gained by order and tranquillity. But in free countries, where disorder is as essential for their existence, as it is a proof of their freedom, no institution can be considered as not liable to destruction, nor is permanency requisite for the preservation of those privileges liberty ensures. The finest instrument that any nation has possessed for the regulation and security of every right, is the British constitution. Yet it is the child of revolutions. Successive eruptions of popular fury and party spirit have, in endangering its very being, cleared it of blemish; nor has it been found to lose in efficiency, that which it has gained in its approach to purity and perfection. It has ever been capable of modification to the times, and however the new modelling may have appeared to resemble innovation, still its strength has been undiminished. Such a charter places a people beyond the reach of injury. Every invasion reacts to their advantage—and even civil war, though it spread destruction, leaves no wound it cannot heal. It receives the shocks of daring ambition, and bears unimpaired the more dangerous, because the more subtle and less observed attacks of party.

But a nation possessing no such register of rights, is borne down by the fury of contested power. Revolution is the commencement of a struggle against various feelings and multiplied excitements—against despotism, usurpation, and faction—and a single convulsion puts in motion a mass of elements that find no level till the dominion of arbitrary authority unites them to be again dissevered. Wanting an outline of clearly defined rights, an acknowledged evidence of vested privileges, it has nothing to which it can turn, for a restoration to its former condition, or as a support to prevailing opinions; and a country so situated, will go through successive stages of revolution and anarchy, till the character of the age is stamped on that of its people. But the character of the age is a thing of slow maturing. It cannot be adopted at pleasure, but must reach the whole body of a people, before those institutions can be reared, which it indicates. Thrones may be overturned, and nations convulsed in its progress, still it increases in power, till it becomes embodied among the destinies of a people. It is the operation of a principle that may have been concealed, though not inactive; restless, though unobserved; and the greatest difficulty with which the guardians of a nation's welfare have to contend, is to keep pace with its movements. For it often appears to slumber and retreat before the obstacles it encounters, and then to burst out with irresistible force. But the tide of human affairs is as ceaseless in its motion as that of the ocean, and its cause as unseen. Though the surface is smooth, there are distant mutterings, which to the watchful portend agitation. The political atmosphere acts as variously as the natural—

and when loaded with corruption, prostrates the energies ; but a reaction follows, that breaks down and often annihilates old establishments, and man erects upon the ruins an edifice more suited to his present condition. This is not the result of capricious feeling, nor the decay of a prejudice, nor one of the quick transitions men sometimes display from tranquillity to turbulence, from apparent content to the heat and distraction of misrule and anarchy, but the operation of the principle which leads men to a knowledge of their situation, and how far it bears upon their interests.

The violent but transitory commotion of human passions, may give an impulse tending to produce an important event. But a revolution thus commencing in heat of feeling, anticipates the time in which good consequences would follow. It is not founded on the character of the nation, nor is it the expression of their will or determination to establish their freedom, but it can only be conceived as the irritation of a party, eager either to extend their own power, or at the instigation of patriotism to diffuse a love of liberty and destroy its oppression. The civil wars of England were the result of a factious spirit. The republican party had long existed, and under the disguise of religion, deceived the people as to their designs. They were supposed to want little more than the reform of abuses, relief from the influence of a corrupt court, and repose from the attacks and encroachments of a proud and wealthy establishment. But their chief object was the destruction of the monarchy. The spirit of the age set towards the rigid and simpler doctrines of presbyterianism, and the severer feelings and opinions of republicanism. The court party derided the one as hypocrisy, and regarded the other as treason. And a civil war was already commenced, when the king and aristocracy arrayed themselves in hostility to the commons and people, opposing principles and prejudices.

No king of England can support himself without his people. The aristocracy are a distinct class, and looked on with jealousy. Their power is oppressive to the nation, and hazardous to the monarch. They have no attachments but to their rank and its privileges, and to the throne so far as it upholds these. But all the affections of the lower orders are fixed upon the king, and whenever they unite, their cause must triumph. If he bends to party views, regardless of the interests of the nation, he then becomes the instrument of party designs and his own ruin ; or if he leagues with the aristocracy, he places himself and the nation at the mercy of an oligarchy. There is then no security for the head of a limited monarchy, but in sharing his power with the people, and defending the government from those principles of corruption, which on one side expose it to the rule of the privileged classes, on the other, to the violence and excesses of democracy.

If Charles the First had met the republican spirit with a tone of conciliation, it would not have cost him his throne; or, if he had sufficiently understood the institutions of the country, to know that such a spirit is a part of their existence, he would not have risked a war with his subjects to add strength to the monarchy. This feeling, which overthrew him, was used by Cromwell to elevate the country and himself; and the arbitrary authority with which he governed, was lost in the lustre of the glory that overspread England. James the Second, who attempted to resist a sentiment that had sacrificed his father, and to which his brother had yielded, afforded an example of the futility of engaging in a contest with the feelings and interests of a nation, and trying to thwart public will. But a revolution in a free state differs, in nature and result, from one that breaks down the control of a despotism. The people and their leaders have a definite object, and are satisfied with gaining it. Both dread lest the fundamental laws of the realm may so far lose their power, by excess of disorder, as to admit the arbitrary authority of a single individual to usurp all their rights; and that their weakness, after the struggle, will tempt ambition to its personal aggrandizement. The pressure of a sceptre is often less fatal to the liberties of a nation, than the elevation and sway of a man whom popular feeling has raised; and Cromwell, though bred beneath all the advantages of free institutions, manifested the disposition of a tyrant; yet he was obliged to give way to the reaction of constitutional liberty, to engage the attention of the nation by flattering their pride, and withdraw scrutiny from his conduct by feeding their self love.

A people who attempt their own regeneration, by casting down the barriers of a despotism, loosen all the bonds of society. It is generally premature, and leads rather to the desolation of a country than to its freedom. With an impetuosity nothing can restrain, they rush to extremes, till every order of the state is sacrificed; and then from amidst this anarchy attempt the erection of another structure. But it is as difficult to adopt a new form, as to restore the influence of habits once undermined. The manners of a people are its constitution; and whatever may be the design in new-modelling them, revolution is the first step to their decay. The French revolution was not the effect of defied principles nor endangered liberties, nor the hasty growth of immature plans and restless feeling; but a consequence of the determination which had been maturing beneath the soil of public opinion, to overthrow the existing system. Such is the probable intention of all who commence civil convulsions; but they find that the people are not at all times the best guardians of public safety, and that they soon become the instruments of factions, when once let loose upon institutions to which time has produced

attachment, and become the test of their utility and the sanction of their value. Time is as essential to consolidate as to destroy ; and when the base is shaken, on which old opinions rest, a nation returns to its elements, and various scenes must pass before the drama closes. To assert that a violent irruption upon an established movement in affairs, is more to be dreaded than *any* condition, is not to advocate that nations should stand still, but that circumstances should meet the occasion. The American revolution was not a popular commotion, with the vague hope of gaining liberty ; but arose from the desire to be free from oppression, and be rid of a burden. We bore no enmity to the home of our ancestors. Our envy was not excited by the pomp of luxury, and no hierarchy or aristocracy, in the imposing array of power, rendered more hideous the glare of poverty ; nor did royalty mix its degrading condescensions with our simplicity—but all our aspirations were as pure as the object was valuable. But it is not so with other countries. The lower orders are not by intelligence, nor by an acknowledged right, made to form a part of the body politic. The church and aristocracy are the governing interests, and preserve no community of feeling with the people. Such institutions once enfeebled or demeaned, become the object of attack and contempt ; since they exist but through a moral influence, which being once destroyed, they fall by their own weight. They are the two supporters of thrones and despotism, but are fast giving way. A contest has been going on in the world between arbitrary government and political liberty, for half a century ; a conflict of opinions that has produced an unsettled state of feeling, a love of change, and an uncertainty in the duration of all forms of government, which may and perhaps will continue, till all is gained the one side can get, and all is yielded the other side has to offer. No condition of feeling has ever before resembled it since the Reformation, though here the desire of religious liberty was the sentiment that drew attention to political ; and the two blend together so strongly and perfectly, that which ever forms the prevailing interest of the moment, bears the other with it. Religion, however, admits of a variety of opinions, each of which has its ardent and unflinching adherents—each of which is to the world of secondary importance, and to man, in his moral relations, of inferior moment. It is not so in our love or admiration of governments. The indifferent spectator may conceive happiness to be as great under one as the other, and, in a philosophical survey of the affairs of life, fancy them to be as well managed under the dominion of a king as under the sovereignty of the people. But this narrow view does not include men's rights. Their doctrine has been but lately asserted or understood. Yet it is the power which is swaying the earth, steadily extending itself, and

when opposed casting down every antagonist. It openly declares, that the love of power and the love of liberty cannot exist together, that they cannot move together to the same ends, or by any possibility produce the same results; and these two natural but conflicting principles are now revolutionizing every ancient institution. The French revolution, mistaken as was the idea that allied it with the American, was the effect of an improved feeling, with regard to the liberties of a nation; but it left more to regret in the ruins it made, than to admire in the advantages it brought. Yet the people had felt their strength, and there followed a deep-rooted sentiment, that when roused it was irresistible. This, though strange and novel, was accompanied by another feeling, more important to the French as an individual nation, and deeply interesting to all mankind—that the people have rights, and that to be free was the chief, though the most difficult of attainment. But from the heat of revolution to the dominion of arms, is a natural transition; and military authority, for a time forced aside this still immature opinion, though the weight of this worst of despotisms was hardly able to keep down its expression, and was indebted to victory for the sway it held, and the control with which it governed and influenced that which was ready at any moment to oppose it. Beneath the glare of glory a despotism is confirmed, and in its intoxication a nation forgets her interests. But the duration of military rule, or of that of him to whom it is obedient, depends on its strength or popularity, and rest is essential for the completion of every design—the elevation and establishment of power. As a despot is the keystone of his empire, the continuance of his reign depends upon his conduct and personal character, which is often unfit for assuming civil affairs, and allaying the distractions which arise among the animosities of parties. These both produce and continue the agitation of civil disorders, and when the state is emerging from its difficulties to repose, then commences the assertion of their separate and various claims. In this feverish and over-excited condition of men's minds, intervals of tranquillity are often those of ruin. There is no constant or well defined intention with any party, but each marshals its strength to gain its own ends. No one is willing to lose the opportunity of establishing itself, or to renounce, for the general good, their individual objects. Patriotism is perverted by revenge, and upon the removal of the strong hand which has heretofore kept down the violence of contending factions and repressed their designs, there is no longer any national freedom or expression of the public will. The body of the people desire peace, both from external war and internal distraction, but it is for the interest of every enemy to continue the one, as it is that of every ambitious partisan to promote the other. The

despotism from which they have relieved themselves, in concentrating in itself all influence and importance, is found to have extended its corrupt power further than to the direction of affairs, and entered the hearts of men, making them regard liberty as a boon and acquisition, their submission as dégradation ; but unfitting them for the duties of freemen, and rendering their reception a matter to be forwarded by time alone. The revolutionary policy is to commence the preservation of a state by its total destruction, to make a clear field for the strife, but no receptacle for the injured. But a nation that sees its religion and its laws, its old habits and customs, contemned and violated, and feels free from the moral power of ancient institutions, does not, in this recoil from age to youth, become more disposed or more able to adopt the half finished forms, so readily devised and so urgently recommended. It resembles one of the instances of momentary strength, in which senility borrows the vigour of youth, and returns to that portion of life, to renew the freer action, the glow and animation of vitality, which then gives the charm of existence, and soon after retreats once again to the near neighbourhood of death.

The only hope a people have of securing peace, after all that they looked upon with respect and regard has been swept away, is to recall former attachments and restore ancient forms. They may be freer, since the times require it, their external aspect remain as it has been, while the internal movements, the general administration, and all the machinery of government may be changed. For a nation that has struggled till it has almost seen its own destruction, finds, like him with whom memory is displacing time, that the warmth of the affections lies among the recollections, it may be the ruins, of the past. No country has adopted a form that did not resemble the one it had cast off. The Romans expelled their kings, and cast themselves into the hands of an aristocracy. This, to preserve its power, inspired the people with a love of freedom, which led to the hatred of royalty, and to contentions between plebeians and patricians, that ended in a republic. In modern times, Charles the First and Louis XVI. have been beheaded to satisfy the antipathy to monarchies. Both were succeeded by despotisms, to which the people submitted, in the one instance because there was the semblance of a republic, in the other because they had not yet learnt their rights. Both restored the monarchy, and the battlements of ancient structures appeared once again to be rising upon the liberties of nations. But the nineteenth century is destined to see all men with equal rights, and to fix for ever the bounds of tyranny and usurpation. Liberty responds to intelligence, and the affairs of nations are establishing themselves on the basis, in which the advance of knowledge becomes the increase of their power, and

the balance formed by these, both the title and the means of their strength and preservation.

The revolution of 1688, is nearly the most important of modern times, not only in immediate result, but in its distant effect. It involved principles and established them, which had before created calamitous disorders, but which were without the strength derived from maturity of opinion—clear, well defined design, and apposite circumstances. It gave a distinct view to the British nation of its rights, marked the bounds of their privileges and the limits of the prerogative, so that neither king nor people could encroach upon the mutual concessions each had made, without a direct attack upon the constitution. Every preceding reign had acted upon a presumed, not a fixed power. The deeds of Henry the Eighth were open tyranny, yet the people offered no resistance. Those of Mary were not only contradictory to the spirit of the constitution, but calculated to excite the fury of any people, not altogether paralyzed by servitude—yet they were tolerated. The passions of men were arrayed hostilely, and the excitement of religious animosity, the violence of personal hatred, the madness of revenge, cast out the consideration of civil rights. The overthrow of the Catholic religion, left its partisans deeply anxious to react upon their enemies—but the personal influence of Henry preserved tranquillity. At his death the elevation of a Catholic to the throne, and the revival of that religion, offered an opportunity for vengeance; and the parliament having restored the laws against heretics, the queen appeared resolved to yield to her inclinations, and persecute them to the utmost. When Elizabeth came to the throne, she found all parties under the harassing exhaustion of the late contest of passion, and ready to allow the elation of a hard won triumph to subside; and whether it were magnanimity, the love of country, or that of glory, which deterred her from retaliation, may be uncertain, but there appears no instance of the desire of this, unless it exist in ordering the execution of Mary Stuart, which, Mazure supposes to have been counselled by her ministers as an affair of state, to show that no further league could take place between the two religions. But Elizabeth, with all her love for England and its people, had but little regard to their civil liberty. National glory surmounted an admiration for a constitution, and the energies of her character, the abilities of her statesmen, and the British feeling that directed them—the brilliancy and success of her undertakings, took from the people the notice due to their claims. James the First neither acknowledged nor comprehended popular privileges, and the name of sedition was given to all agitation that arose from the defiance of them; but in the reign of Charles the First commenced the struggle between royal prerogative, the parliament, and the nation. The old feudal doc-

trine of entire submission on the part of the subject, and absolute authority on that of the king, still held some control, and were, with Charles, fixed convictions. He was mistaken both in his own character and that of his subjects, and had not heeded their disposition to loosen regal authority, and either break or bend the sceptre. The republican spirit that introduced Cromwell to the power, if not to the throne of a king, had been long extending itself through the minds of the nation—and attacks upon the crown were due rather to this feeling, than to any unusual restraint upon the subject. But the reign of Charles the Second is the opening scene of the occurrences which induced the revolution. It is one of the most singular in English history, both from the character of the man, and the nature of its transactions. But there is no greater difficulty than to know the real character of sovereigns, and discover to what extent they govern or are governed. Actions generally lead to the recesses of principles, and men can only be judged by the world, and really understood, from them; but kings are the toys of courts, cabinets, and circumstances, and their real nature seldom appears on the surface of their conduct. The people of England were deceived in Charles. They supposed he would readily become a passive agent, not a self-willed actor. How great was the contrast between the day of his elevation to the throne, and the time when he felt himself sufficiently secure to commence tampering with his country's honour! How misplaced the affections and generosity of the people of England, who had hoped to repose from the distraction of revolution, by restoring the legitimate successor of their last king, to produce an amalgamation of parties, the subsidence of their restless spirit, and to continue the glory acquired under Cromwell, by being once more governed by one who possessed an acknowledged claim to the crown! To restore Charles might have appeared, as it probably was, the only way to secure these advantages, yet it showed but little knowledge of man, to expect them, and too great a reliance on the noted treachery of princes. The promises made at Breda, were such as could be easily extorted from an exiled and ruined man. They yielded nothing but such things as would of course be demanded, if not spontaneously offered—such things too as the best principled mind could almost excuse in the forfeiture. Could it be supposed that any human being, possessed, not of the most refined or delicate sensibility, but of the mere ordinary instinctive feelings of our nature, would be able, once holding power, to grant a cheerful forgiveness, a clear unqualified pardon, to those who had cast him from his throne, made him an outcast, and placed a curse upon his name? It was to expect too much. The father's bloody death was deep in the son's mind. It acted as a stimulus to much of his conduct, and perhaps remained during life, as the secret

cause of many of his actions, and source of enduring hatred to the people he was called to rule. This is at least a natural presumption, confirmed by the persevering vengeance with which he pursued the regicides, extending it even to their graves. The remains of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were disinterred, suspended on a gibbet, and then buried beneath it. Six of the judges of Charles the First were executed. Vane suffered and Lambert died in neglect and destitution, though neither were strictly regicides. That which Charles thus commenced in the spirit of revenge, was afterwards carried through at the instigation of systematic cupidity. A prodigal by nature, a lover of pleasure, indolent and inactive, unless roused to the transaction of business by affairs that disturbed his repose—his life was passed in uneasy and fitful transitions from ease and tranquillity to intense and energetic exertion. History hardly records another instance of such vehement and active emotion mingled with a zest for the enervating gratifications of luxurious enjoyment—such a compound of Sardanapalus and Cæsar. It was easy with him to leave the struggles of the council chamber, or the opposition of the House of Commons, for the society of a mistress, the inebriating flattery of courtiers, or for an interview with some pander to his passions—and it appeared of little moment with him, whether he conspired against the liberties and laws of his country, or intrigued for his own amusement. The same good humour, self confidence, shrewdness, and knowledge of the world—the same contempt for opinion or its result, the same unprincipled disregard for his own or the nation's honour, and inattention to the means that secured his ends, were carried into every thing he attempted or was advised to attempt.

Such was the man, who was to succeed to the power and authority of one of the most remarkable individuals who ever lived. He forms an extraordinary instance of the effect of circumstances on character, and how little reliance is to be reposed on the general dogmas of morals, when the natural inclination, the bias of the particular disposition, is not considered. The harsh and severe lessons of adversity, acting on a mind powerful, ingenuous, and ambitious, would have created a concentrated, relentless energy of purpose—in his situation resistless and overpowering; but with Charles it produced indifference, a dozing apathy that slumbered over all affairs of business, till the startling sound of his commons' voice, or the cries of an outraged people, awakened him to the near approach of ruin. His foreign education unfitted him for the admiration of civil liberty—perhaps its comprehension, or respect for its institutions—and created rather a jealousy of the popular will. With one possessing less penetration into the designs and motives of human conduct—if the throne had been occupied by an impetuous, self willed king, instead of one, who,

as he himself expresses it, had no desire to go again on his travels—a civil war, and with such a neighbour as Louis XIV., perhaps the separation of the empire, would have ensued. But the British king was not enamoured of such extremes. Though no coward, he had seen enough of adventure, and suffered enough of trial, to admit the counsels of reflection, and the influence of a better judgment to sway the love of absolute dominion. It was this that formed the inherent vice of the Stuart family, and at last tore from them their rank and condition. They saw the results of their conduct, yet pursued it; they were determined obstinately to work out their destiny, and appear placed on their “bad eminence,” the more conspicuously to display the triumph of free principles. They wanted, what in a human being is an irretrievable misfortune—a heart. Their being was an absorbing love of self, and a constant struggle between the dictates of this, and the warnings of less grateful sentiments.

Without the cold, gloomy malignity of Tiberius, or the tyrannical propensities of Harry the Eighth, they possessed a deep, designing dissimulation, an impenetrable and depraved want of feeling, which regarded with indifference the shedding of blood; and to sign a death-warrant, or make a witticism, were with Charles the Second matters of equal moment. More innocent men were executed in the reign of that family, than during any reign or among any people who had laws and loved their exercise. Their sufferings were public exhibitions of royal perfidy and unmanly ingratitude, an outrageous disregard of justice—an impious neglect of humanity, and disrespect of the gift of life.

What was the accusation against Stafford, or Sydney, or Vane, or the elder Argyle? All might have been saved from the clamours of faction, by the interposition of royal mercy; but the dictates of generosity or other refined sentiment, seldom conquer the leaden weight of indolence. It is a corrupt disease of the intellect, that destroys the clearness of its perceptions, and gives a dull glare to every impression: even those that intuitively gleam among the sometimes rich soil of an indolent mind, are but splendid tints, which fade as easily and as quickly as they rise.

Charles had however one quality that should be recommended to all statesmen, more expressly to those who are called to govern a free people—the art of acquiring popularity and preserving it. Every action, the acknowledged baseness of his political and personal character, the public display of vice, the immoral tendency of his conduct, the defiance of decency and the conventional forms of society instituted as much for the control of crowned heads as the domestic fireside, were forgotten in an attachment to his person; and the death of the man who had degraded England, the power and pride of her haughty people, the first to

being little more than the exchequer of corruption, the latter to the sentiment of self disgust, was mourned as a national calamity. Mankind love those who appear to depend on them. They are flattered at the idea, that they are supposed to possess and are disposed to yield to generous emotions. He who presumes on independence of feeling and elevated principles as giving him a claim to respect, judges correctly; yet these make no appeal to the affections. Their implied reserve throws a man into the same relation with the world, as a ship from a fleet when cast upon the rocks in a storm—there is neither sympathy nor power of assistance—she may relieve herself or go to pieces—no congratulation is offered at her escape, or surprise created at her wreck.

But men who desire popularity as the basis of success, and prefer, in the heat of a violent ambition, personal honour to their country's, find the low arts of a demagogue essential, and their fortunes controlled by the frail security of popular favour. Every tyrant, whether a multitude or an individual, has its Sejanus or its Catiline, and no character is more common or more easily adopted, than the one which inclines to subvert, not to erect. The lion has its jackall, the whale its humble companion, and he who is weak in physical force or moral energy, must rely on the support of others, and use as instruments whatever they grant to him. In democracies, personal popularity is the sole requisite for power; in republics, the last degree of importance was once granted to virtue; in mixed forms, they should be united, though the last is ever the most valuable and the most enduring. But it is a rare commodity, and apt to be neglected. It is never the tyrant or the assassin, the vulgar demagogue, or unconscientious partisan—it can neither pander to power nor play the hypocrite to gain it.

In reviewing the career of Charles, it will be found that he kept his throne by committing no violence upon the feelings of his people which they were not willing to attribute to the bad counsel of a minister, and which he did not manage to make appear in this light.—Though it were his own obstinacy that instigated such conduct, and seldom, if ever, the gratuitous advice of any one, still the people did not credit this; and in demanding the punishment of the offender, the king escaped, while the minister was sacrificed. There are several examples of this want of magnanimity, though he was overmatched and nearly implicated by Shaftesbury—an individual as much in love with himself as the king, and as little ambitious of emulating a martyrdom. This history of the man is essential for understanding after events, and his reign is interesting for many reasons, but especially as being the last in which the personal character of the sovereign interfered with or influenced the affairs of the

British nation, and as the commencement of a clear comprehension of the powers delegated by the constitution to the different parts of the government. The House of Commons exerted themselves to secure their own liberty and that of the subject, while the crown attempted to preserve all that it already possessed, and acquire as much more. James came to the throne, labouring under the suspicion of aiming to overturn the Protestant religion, and of course could expect no great cordiality on the part of his subjects. But the British people are generous, and knew that he had endured persecution for his creed, and gone through every trial which the laudable ambition of succeeding his brother could experience. He had suffered all this, apparently with an honest reliance on the strength of his faith, and a confidence in the correctness of his religious scruples. No inducement—the violence of parties, the virulence of enemies, the persuasions of friends, the urgent and constant intreaties of his brother—was able to change his views of that which he considered the truth. His conscience was roused to support his courage, and with these two sentiments he was both willing and able to endure disappointment in the possession of so great and splendid a thing as the throne of Great Britain. Such self-denial, such unwavering stability of purpose, was well calculated to gain at least respect, if not attachment from the people of England. It showed them that even if he were opposed to their principles, he was still willing to confide in their sense of justice, and rest his whole claim on that one feeling. Such confidence tended to produce the effect designed, and when he ascended the throne, the expressions of satisfaction and adherence, even of regard, poured in from all parts. They were given without hesitation, with the fearless warmth of mutual good-will and friendship. The rest of Europe looked on in amazement at such an exhibition of loyalty and patriotism, and at such a result of constitutional liberty, with a nation who appreciate and comprehend it. Perhaps the king himself wondered at this change of feeling, and might have been deceived with the hope that the minds of the people were at length prepared to witness, without emotion or interest, the attacks he was already planning on their most cherished privileges. But he mistook generosity for a change in opinion, the display of affection for adulation, betraying himself with the false notion, that these could not exist without involving the intention to submit to all and whatever he should introduce. Having been long accustomed to the silent, moody determinations of his own spirit, he conceived that any relaxation on the part of others, in principles to which they were devoted, and had adopted with as much reflection and supported with as much fierceness as he had his own, proved a desire to yield to or court his favour. He appeared to presume, as is generally the case

with men habituated to the struggles and opposition of enmity, that to cease from the contest, is to lose the feeling of rivalry, or the desire of victory; of course to put aside all expectation and forego every attempt to procure success. The mistake was a natural one in his circumstances. He had felt the pride of a martyr, while the subject of calumny, of villanous and low intrigue. His life had been spent amidst the violence of war, the opposition of open and confessed enemies, and in studying self-defence against covert treachery, concealed art, and false candour. The character thus formed could but be firm; it was, however, at the same time, stern and remorseless. His knowledge of human nature presented but a single view of human dispositions. The gentler virtues were unknown to him, and the idea he had formed of man was created and fixed by circumstances, and incapable of being shaken by their after change and fluctuations. An individual so bigotted and unaccommodating, was not fitted for the throne of England at that time. A politician or king should, at all times, but more particularly in those of dangerous excitement, know how to place himself in an easy and graceful attitude before the irruptions of popular fury, and not endanger every thing by attempting a futile resistance, thus to hasten a ruin, which must be irretrievable from the ever unpardonable crime of thwarting public opinion. The people never forgive. They are conscious of weakness, unless when acting in overpowering majorities;—the weakness of intellectual inferiority and of an inferior condition; feeling, too, assured, that if not led by able guides, and made to combine in opinion as well as in mass, they can effect nothing. It is such sentiments that render revolutions destructive to liberty; for the lower orders are in a state, what militia are in war, ill disciplined and ungovernable, yielding more easily to inconsiderate impetuosity than regardful of consequences.

James had, however, to contend with no such irresistible flood as has been seen in modern times. The country was anxious for repose, to be freed from foreign incumbrances, and return once more to the merry and contented days of the past. They were willing to welcome him as the medium of happiness, and to rely on him, as neither in his own person nor through a faction, inclined to encourage or provoke dangerous designs against their religion or their liberties. All this was promised in his first speech from the throne, and a general feeling of harmony ensued throughout the realm. The rebellions of Monmouth and Argyle were suppressed, subsidies granted, and the parliament appeared unanimous in gratifying their monarch's wishes. But those two inspections occasioned the first marks of discontent—"the necessary acts of justice after such an insurrection, by the mismanagement of such as were employed in the execution of them, or the false insinuations of such as were sorry it had miscarried,

was the first argument of souring men's minds against the king, and laid the first foundation of those discontents which cost him so dear afterwards; for though to reward virtue and punish vice, be the essential duties of a prince, yet it is almost impossible to fill either of those obligations, without disgusting the one infinitely more than satisfying the other, or even those who draw their security and advantage from it." This reflection, from James's *Memoirs*, is a forcible and fine one, and unhappily not to be denied. No man is able to measure the precise amount of his services, or estimate their real value; both our vanity and our interests may be hurt by giving them their exact worth, while to rate them high pleases the one, however disadvantageous it may be to the other.

The unnecessary, though justifiable, execution of Monmouth, was another source of dissatisfaction, as he was the most popular man in England. The people had witnessed his death in silence, because they might have conceived it just; but they had steeped their handkerchiefs in his blood, and preserved them to keep alive his memory and demand retribution. Another cause, not then suspected, rendered his death the most unfortunate act James could have committed. It cleared the way for the Prince of Orange, who, by the most artful series of manœuvres, had urged Monmouth to the invasion, to destroy him or James. The duke was doubly duped by the prince and Shaftesbury; the one inciting his ambition, the other promising assistance. But there were other considerations, not then unfolded, which reacted on James, as if to fulfil his destiny and produce the crisis of his fortunes. He appears to have been ignorant of the character of his subjects, or determined to take advantage of their patience and toleration, and work out, while in this humour, the vengeance he had treasured for some such moment. The barbarities perpetrated by Jefferies in the western counties, raised a general outcry of horror, and his name still lives in history as among the most inhuman of his species. Nevertheless James made this man chancellor; thus defying every moral sentiment, and plainly disclosing that the finer feelings had not been cultivated among the hardier and harsher elements of his nature. Did he suppose, that by such conduct he could annihilate or dismay the party then partially, though imperfectly, organized? One consisting not of a few broken and desperate nobles or gentry, but whose principles extended through the whole British nation, in union with a love for their country and religion; yet such seems to have been his hope, and in saying this, it is almost bringing against him an accusation of insanity, certainly of being ill advised and most traitorously counselled. The first speech after his accession was filled with the strongest expressions of respect for the established religion and laws of the realm, and the determination to uphold

them. In the second he declares, "I have a true English heart, as jealous of the honour of the nation as you can be; and please myself with the hopes, that (by God's blessing and your assistance) I may carry the reputation of it yet higher in the world than ever it has been in the time of any of my ancestors." Whether this was intended to smooth the way for his purposes, or conceal treachery already then concerted, or was the expression of his real feelings, is now hardly a question. It was the language of crafty dissimulation, covering designs that went to the overthrow of the constitution—to the convulsions and anarchy of civil war. Indeed, in looking at the character of this man, and his acts at the commencement of his reign, it is difficult to give a reason how the good sense and penetration of the people of Great Britain could have been so obscured by the infatuated love of royalty, or carried away, according to Hume, by the current setting in favour of the court. It was natural for them to rely on their sovereign's promises, and to conceive that for his own interests, he would not be so mad as to attempt inroads on what every parliament, and with it the whole nation, had shown, with the most unshrinking firmness, that they would never yield. Yet, in a few days after his accession to the throne, he displayed the disposition to act without parliamentary authority, by ordering certain portions of the revenue to be paid as heretofore, though these had been granted to the late king only during his life, and at his death were of course to fall under the control of the House of Commons. Hume does not pretend to justify this, though in James's Memoirs it is stated that an address was given in by the members of the Middle Temple, thanking him for this arbitrary proceeding, while the parliament paid no attention to the circumstance. However this may be, there must have been some shrewd observers, who could not augur favourably from an illegal act. The next instance of obstinate and self-willed folly, was, and must have been so considered by a large proportion of the well and ill disposed, a heinous offence and insult to the laws, institutions, and feelings of the nation. The doors of the chapel royal were thrown open, and the king attended mass, without an attempt or apparent desire to elude observation, and accompanied by the imposing array of Catholic emblems and regal insignia. Such was one of the first deeds of rashness and wilful audacity with this ill-fated monarch; and henceforth we are to look for no concession to public opinion, no conciliation of the irritable condition of public sentiment. Some might attribute this conduct to a detestation of hypocrisy, to a love of candour, and regard it as a highly estimable virtue, to adhere to his faith with the same rigour now he possessed power, as when under the depression of adversity. His faith was interwoven with his conscience, and however

policy might dictate, that it should not interfere with the affairs of the kingdom, yet he might conceive it degrading before God, to yield a point on personal or political grounds, which would endanger his future happiness, though not to do it was to provoke his ruin in this world.

To suppose a Stuart actuated by such high minded sentiments, is to suppose all bigots to feel the devotedness of martyrs. He suffered for his religion, not from principle but pride—not because he felt a satisfaction at being persecuted for its sake, but because it was a keen gratification to enjoy self adoration—this being one of the chief sources of delight with obstinate men, inasmuch as it increases the faculty of endurance in proportion to the vigour of the attack. Obstinacy is conquered by flattering its inflexibility, and subdued by an apparent submission to its will; but the British people love themselves or their freedom too well, to pay a superfluous admiration to tyranny or its projects, and James found the impatience of his subjects to be in the ratio of the measure of his exactions. No condition of the mind can be more vicious or dangerous than that induced by obstinacy. It limits the range and expansion of our views, restricts the exercise of our faculties, and has ruined the fortunes of as many individuals, and cast down as many thrones, as indecision or impetuosity. But in the present instance, the disposition with James, to force the Catholic religion on his subjects, because he was perversely stubborn in his adhesion to its doctrines, and strongly convinced of the salutary tendency of its tenets, was not only a feeble policy, but the infraction of a contract. He had come to the throne, not to avow or enforce certain religious dogmas, differing from those existing in the state, but with the understanding that these were now a part of the law of the land, and could not be touched without breaking in on the institutions he was called to support, and which he had most distinctly declared it was the wish of his heart to uphold. To what are we to attribute these direct assertions, founded on a knowledge of the compact between him and his subjects, and a course of action as directly opposed to this intelligence and those assertions? They can be attributed to nothing but a reckless determination to stand or fall by his creed, at any hazard to himself or kingdom. Even the Pope advised him to dismiss from his mind the unquestionably impracticable measure of introducing *Catholic* England into the bosom of the Catholic Church. It was sufficiently dangerous to be seated on a throne, beneath which his enemies, on other than religious scruples, had carried a mine, ready at a moment of heedlessness on his part, to scatter him and his race to the elements; but to fire the train with his own hand, was an extraordinary example of self destruction, with every warning given and every danger clearly traced. He

might have continued his reign, as did his brother, by respecting that which he had no right to offend; by confining his creed to himself, its rigorous demands to the satisfaction of his own conscience, and the hopes it gave of future salvation to his own soul, and permitting his subjects to secure in their own way the advantages of divine benevolence, more particularly as he was gifted with none of the sanctity of character belonging to a divine legate. It was then, too, well understood, that a king was no longer an ecclesiastical dictator, or head of the church; but an individual endowed with civil authority, and having only a certain degree of power for certain purposes, with the other departments of the government; all of which had been explained, been avowed in precept and demonstrated by example, and set forth to the world by the execution of Charles the First. At the moment his head was severed from his body, it was to declare that the power of the people is a sovereign power, answerable to no other tribunal than the one of their own creation.

Yet in defiance of this, Cromwell nearly established a despotism; Charles the Second dissembled his wish for the same thing; and the unwise, the indocile James, consummated his own destruction and the people's freedom, by attempting to erect the structure of an arbitrary dominion.

Besides endeavouring to innovate upon the established church, James succeeded, after considerable resistance and clamour, in raising a well disciplined and effective body of fourteen thousand men. This was another step towards popular detestation, which was carried to its height by the recommendation of the employment of Papists in offices of all descriptions.

Having gone through, with no fatal consequences, one stage of hypocrisy and one of folly, we now come to the time when he has to contend with the difficult task of enacting the two opposite characters required for those dramas; and there can be no hesitation in saying, that he will oftener be found wearing the many coloured garb appropriate to the one, than in the more precise array of sly tranquillity and cunning artifice, with the grasping ambition of a dissembler.

The revolts of Argyle and Monmouth had been crushed. The king mistook this success for an addition of power, and proposed to the parliament, who had witnessed his good fortune, and who had conceded to him the revenues granted to his brother, a bill containing the most obnoxious clauses. It was for the guarantee of the king's person, enumerating every act that could constitute treason. Each article of the bill terminated in the following manner:—"If any of these conspiracies, contrivances, imaginations, inventions, plots or intentions, are manifested, expressed or declared, by printing, writing, preaching, or by mischievous

and deliberate discourse, this individual or those individuals shall be declared traitors."

By this, under such dispensers of justice as Jefferies, every word escaping in the heat of conversation or intoxication, could become a death-warrant. But there followed a still severer clause—

"All persons who shall be legally convicted of having mischievously and designedly, by means of the press or pulpit, or by any other means, expressed or published, uttered or spoken any words, maxims or any thing else, tending to excite the people, or inspire them with hatred or ill will, whether against the person of his majesty, or the established government, shall be and are from this moment rendered incapable of obtaining any advancement, of possessing or exercising any place or ecclesiastical function, civil or military, as well as employment in church or state." To carry into effect such restrictions on the liberty of the subject, was not the intention of the House of Commons, as they evinced by adding—

"The spirit and letter of this act shall not be considered violated, by every person, who, by whatever means of publication, should defend and sustain, the doctrine, discipline, worship, and government of the English church, such as it is at the present day, by law established, against Catholicism, or against any other opinion of the nonconformists."

Thus granting a fair field to the members of the church of England, for attacks the most scurrilous and revengeful, on the religion and character of the king, while a nonconformer was denied the liberty of gratifying his prejudices. Another convincing proof that religion was to form the great aim of contention, and that the House of Commons were determined to enclose it within as many protecting defences as was in their power, was the trial and punishment of Oates. He had been convicted of perjury—of course the execution of Stafford and others, as connected with the popish plot, was deliberate murder, and the attainder should have been reversed. The bill brought into the House of Lords for this purpose, and passed, was rejected at the first reading by the House of Commons. Notwithstanding these demonstrations of the feeling of that house and of the country, James still rushed on with a fearless and fatal temerity.

At this time he appears openly to have expressed a disposition to rid himself of inquisitive and tenacious parliaments. With this design he determined to secure the aid of Louis. Barillon, the French minister at the court of St. James, endowed too with the usual love of intrigue and diplomatic skill of Frenchmen, had in his possession at that moment a large sum, which James most anxiously urged him to give up. Louis would not permit it, and in a letter to his minister, says: "I have sent these funds to

aid the King of England in his projects for the Catholic religion, and since he does not think that he ought, though the present moment is favourable, to demand the repeal of the penal laws and the free exercise of our religion, I do not wish to urge him at the hazard of being refused in a matter of such importance."

James wrote with his own hand to Barillon, explaining and developing all his plans; and never before did monarch avow such a systematic design of destruction to the laws and established policy of his country. Yet it may be doubted whether he did not desire rather to possess the money, than bring contempt and ruin on himself by being placed at the mercy of a stranger. There is nothing however in his character to authorize the supposition, but the matter may be rather referred to the crafty collusion of the Earl of Sunderland and the Prince of Orange, who were at that early time plotting the overthrow of the King of England. Yet that James was capable of the basest hypocrisy, is manifested at the close of the letter to Barillon, mentioned above.—"I have been educated in France. I have eaten the bread of her king; my heart is all French, and your master can neither doubt my inviolable attachment to his person, nor my devotion to his interests." Such language as this could hardly have been dictated by the same impulses, which in his speech directed the assertion that his heart was all English. But James was at this time bending over a precipice. Complicated deceit and clashing interests, had enveloped him in a web, which he had neither the penetration to discover, nor the instinctive prudence or sagacity that should have traced its origin, and led to its avoidance. He was thrown into a condition of imagined security, and confiding self complacency, by the wonderful art of his confidant and counsellor, Sunderland; and it will hereafter appear, that every measure he adopted from this moment, was at the suggestion of that man, whose ambition impelled him to elevate himself at the hazard of his country's disgrace, and his master's ruin. He entered into the king's designs on the church, and was as eager to supplant it, and introduce the Catholic. "I know not," he writes to Barillon, "whether things are seen in France as they really are here, but I defy those who look at them closely not to recognise the will and inclination of the king. I will go farther.—His majesty can, according to good sense and right reason, have no other end than the establishment of the Catholic religion. Without that, it will never be safe. It will always be exposed to the indiscreet zeal of those who heat the people against the Roman church, whilst it will never be entirely established in England. But one thing is certain, that thing can succeed only by the strict alliance with your master. It is a project which belongs to him, and can succeed but through him. Every other person will oppose it openly, or traverse the design secretly. You well know

it is against the interests of the Prince of Orange—but he will never be in a condition to prevent it, if it is conducted by France as it should be.”

This however was only to blind Barillon to the designs of the British ministry, who were then signing a treaty with the States that became the first development of the wars and revolutions of which Europe has been the theatre.

There are sometimes in politics as well as in the common affairs of life, changes and movements made, which appear to be founded on mature deliberation; but, as if by a designed counteraction, to show the fallibility of thought and imbecility of human will, are resolved into the most dangerous commotions, and unhappiest of enterprises. The mind can see things in the distance, and fancy them of easy attainment, have a clear conception of their utility, and conviction of their practicability.— Yet the first attempt towards their execution, is like removing a single plank from a dam—the mass of water gushes through the opening and destroys the entire work. It was thus with the designs of the able statesmen of the year 1685.—As we stand beyond the barriers of that age, affected it may be by its events, yet mixed up neither with its prejudices nor the working of its springs, we are enabled to take a sedate general view of all the affairs enacted, and in a retrospect, we are struck with the inconsiderate and ill-judged conduct of the man whom all historians denominate great. He appears however to have been great, rather from the imposing splendour of his deeds, than from the solid advantages of their results. Military fame is at all times the most dazzling glory that can be attached to a name, and ensures more real power, and brilliancy of reputation, than any other end ambition seeks. But when kings make it their stake, human vision is not piercing enough to descry imperfections in their characters or in its nature. The judgment is but an humble faculty beside an excited imagination. If it were not so, conquerors and heroes would revolve in a lower sphere, and rank along with other men, and would not be regarded as mighty in intellect, because they were victorious, nor as deserving of honour and immortality, because a selfish end was served by the waste of human life. Yet success is with the world the test of ability. The million of chances that have operated to fulfil a project, or the million that have crushed our efforts, are disregarded, while to have achieved the intention is sufficient proof that the means were well managed and the best. But it is not so. Misfortune is as often the attendant of genius and energy as its opposite, though both flag from the exhaustion of fruitless exertion, while the heavy hand of disappointment disables the exercise of will; and he who has once been cast into the wretched condition of seeing that all that he can do or has done still leaves

him at a distance from his purpose, feels that the mind dismisses its powers as hope escapes. The next step from this is generally the consummation of an individual's ruin, for there is no more fearful condition than that in which desperation succeeds disappointment, and the understanding must be of iron, to look composedly upon the broken fragments of its toil, and see the whole edifice of its plans sink in decay and dilapidation. This is the severest trial a human being knows, and calls for more philosophy than has been granted to our inheritance of life. To endure with patience is almost divine, but it gives no relief, and rather multiplies the pangs of agony; while to complain, whether a weakness or not, is consistent with our nature, and the voice of comfort responds to the curses or the moanings of a grieved spirit. But when we play the game of fortune, and set our hopes upon its casts, reverses must be summed among our calculations, else we become its sport, not its guide; and force of character can often compel chance to turn in our favour, and either stay a calamity or lessen its weight. If our aspirations, our efforts, and our capacity were duly apportioned the one to the other, disappointment and misfortune would then fall with so just a balance, that we could meet either without being overwhelmed. But the vision of the fancy has a farther ken than that of the intellect, and soars to a greater height, enabling us to view objects, and almost feel that we can grasp them, which no power is given us to reach, while even their loss is partly compensated by the conscious greatness of the attempt. The human mind is so eager for excitement, that a great reverse nearly equals a great success, and he who leaves the field of battle, pursuing victory, or chased by ill fortune, carries nearly a similar interest. The imagination finds food in both events. Their termination, all that preceded, and the result, come up at once, precluding an accurate estimate of accidents, and how far fortune was the chief instrument, or most active agent. It is this play of the imagination that gives the soldier his honours and his name; while the statesman must seek the same from the labour of greater mental exertion, and be satisfied with less renown from his contemporaries, however enduring it may be among posterity. But it would be better if men regarded only the amount of happiness secured, and awarded their praise in proportion to this, rather than be dazzled by victory without consequences, or the empty glories of a conqueror, which serve but to illuminate the tedious details of a remote era, and excite a momentary glow over the dull page of a nation's annals.

Louis the Fourteenth had engrossed for years the attention of Europe, and by his pride and power roused the envy and embittered the malice of a host of enemies. He had fomented dissension in every quarter, trampled on the weak, and attacked the

unguarded. His ambition, accompanied by the usual contempt of justice, and disregard of the rights of other nations, was unbounded in design and unhesitating in execution; upheld as it was, too, by the energies and resources of the French people, it hardly appears extravagant for him to have aimed at, and presumed on attaining universal dominion.

Europe then, however, possessed several men who were beyond their age in political sagacity; and however debased the general condition of the people, they were willing to rush to arms at the voice of those they had learnt to respect and obey. Armies of great size could thus be easily formed, and continued in the field, till, as was generally the case, both parties became weary of the contest and sued for peace. Louis had been looked upon as the arbiter of the destinies of the continent, working all its cabinets at his pleasure, but with a haughty disdain, that concentrated their hatred, which awaited only an occasion and a leader to burst out to the overthrow of the whole structure of his power. He well knew this design, and manœuvred to preserve his sway. The entire force of his mind was required, as a powerful enemy was fast attracting the interest of rival states. The influence of the Prince of Orange was rising and making itself felt in every part, and it was at length conceived that a protector and defender was found, to consummate the general wish of staying the encroaching authority of the French monarch. William was endowed with more genius than Louis; as much ambition, but less ostentation; more art, and energies more enduring and persevering. Being too a Protestant, he could but abhor the nation that had persecuted with such fury the religion he had adopted, and it appears to have been his intention, from an early period, to attempt all that was possible against France. With this spirit he was only awaiting the flood of fortune and circumstance to set towards him, in a fuller and more certain stream, that he might then try, after having secured every suggestion that prudence dictated, what were the depths and shallows of its tide.

The preponderating weight of Louis's influence could not be kept up, unless by restricting the other powers to their present limits. Austria was at all times an enemy to be dreaded, as France has found in our own day; the people being ready to lose all in defence of the imperial family, and though apparently at one moment nearly crushed, yet at the next, appearing on the field in larger armies, made up of desperate and devoted men. This was the power which had struggled against France, almost for existence, well knowing that nothing could prevent her annihilation but an alliance with some other nation—capable, thus united, of maintaining a balance in despite of Louis. Spain was exhausted and driven from the field, so that there remained none but the Protestant nations on whom to rely, they being the na-

tural enemies of France from religious prejudice, and the desire of retaining and establishing their religion. Austria was mistress in 1630 of Spain, Portugal, and the wealth of America—the Low Countries, kingdom of Naples, Milan, Bohemia, Hungary, and Germany; “and if,” says Voltaire, “so many states had been united under one chief of that house, Europe would have been enslaved.” This force had been diminished by rivalry among the smaller states, and by the occupation of the throne of Spain by a Bourbon. Austria, England, and the German Empire, with Holland, were thus the only nations remaining that were capable of resisting the genius and fortune of the French king. Richelieu had overwhelmed the first both by policy and arms. England, under Cromwell, assisted France through the offer of Dunkirk, while the Empire was divided by religious quarrels, and Holland was regarded with contempt from her inferiority in land forces. The death of the protector was an additional piece of good fortune for Louis, and the restoration of Charles gave him every facility for succeeding in his plans, by this king’s base reception of a bribe under the mortifying form of a pension. So far every thing appeared to harmonize with the scheme of making all Europe but one France. But it was at length determined to invade Holland, and thus perfect the system that was so near its close. This invasion brought out the lustre of a mind, glowing with high designs and patriotic feeling. The star of the Prince of Orange arose from amidst the ruins of his country. Foreign troops occupied every town—lay entrenched among the dykes, and were fast bringing under their dominion the whole soil. It was resolved, even at the hazard of their own destruction, to preserve their freedom. The sluices were opened, and a general inundation swept away all that it met; yet liberty was preserved, and the conqueror compelled to retire before a foe that had desolated the object of his labours, and wrenched from him the last obstacle to his hopes. Fortune had turned against him. Turenne, Condé, were no more; and the only mind capable of supporting or appreciating his vast plans, was that of Louvois, who, with his master, was the sole remaining wonder of the age. So that the battle field of genius, presented only the remains of minds able to resist the progress, cope with the strength, or obscure the brilliant career, now opening, of the Prince of Orange. This condition of things reversed the scene of affairs; instead of Louis, it was now William the Stadtholder of Holland, a country but lately held in contempt, and only raised from among the filth of its dykes and dams by the liberal feelings of an extended commerce, who was to become the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. His court was filled with the representatives of most of the great nations, who now saw an opportunity by which to free themselves from the heavy weight of French tyranny and ambition,

to secure their own fate from becoming the property, their interests from being the sacrifice of a restless desire of conquest and inextinguishable love of glory. But William had other designs than the mere curtailing of French authority. He had already conceived the project of securing a throne that could give him greater independence of action, and place him in a position to aid or oppose any nation. By a marriage with the niece of Charles the Second, he strengthened his alliance with England, and as the Duke of York was without male offspring, made himself the heir apparent of the British crown. This was effected by Charles, with the hope of engaging the prince in his councils, and was assented to by James on other grounds. The prince yielded easily to the scheme, without undeceiving them as to the mistake of the supposed pliancy of his character; judging from his own observation, or the sagacious foresight of others, that changes would occur, which must alter the present political relations of people with their governments. He thus brought about an event, that at once revolutionized the entire face of Europe, renovated the decaying liberties of Great Britain, broke up the arbitrary disposition of crowns, and gave an impulse to public opinion which has not yet ceased to vibrate powerfully throughout the earth. It was the second of a chain of revolutions, which, however destructive to the temporary value of human interests, still advance the cause of free institutions. Such has been the result of one of those political convulsions, borne on by an immense force, to which human foresight can trace no bounds. They resemble the floods that nature lets loose to fulfil some necessary law, it may be to preserve, though the effect is to destroy—to create, though they appear only to ruin—and thus, amid the desolation and dismemberment of ancient forms, to prepare a soil where may flourish other opinions and freer principles.

This was the relative condition of the powers of Europe. The death of Charles broke in on the policy of Louis, not that the character of his successor rendered him less likely to enter into the views of the French king, but that the death of a king of England always reanimates the hopes and adds excitement to the feelings of antagonist parties. New interests raise new demands, and the course of conduct of a private citizen, though heir to the crown, does not guaranty a continuance of the same, when he feels the independence and sway of power. Charles was endeared to his subjects by his qualities as a man, which never demanded nor received the cold respect and distant admiration that are generally considered as attached to the dignity of a crowned head. He loved ease and pleasure, but by his good humoured indolence, his unaffected inclination towards every species of gaiety and amusement, though vicious, at times outrageous,

he enlisted in his favour, not the prejudices of the virtuous, the energy of a sound and pure morality, or the sentiments of admiration and devotion that we cast at the feet of splendid ambition, but the more cheerful and ever active feelings of the lower orders. They loved him, because he made himself appear one of themselves. James was of another disposition. He had held out sternly in an adherence to the Catholic Church, backed by the bigotry of a Jesuit. The people of England knew that no inducement would lead him to yield the point of his own salvation for the good of his subjects. They were amazed and overjoyed at his assurances of supporting the established religion, and the guarantee offered for their liberties. They heard all without a suspicion, until one act after another unfolded his schemes, turning affection and confidence to distrust and dislike.

While the minds of the British nation were thus fermenting over their grievances, with the press and the pulpit carrying dismay to their very firesides, and lashing them to fury with the thought that the kings of France and England had conspired to overthrow the Protestant Church, erect arbitrary power, and lay in a general ruin the entire structure of their civil institutions, by one of those blind fatalities, that often enclose our sphere of action, and which the calm reflection of posterity can only attribute to some of the violent and fitful shiftings of despair and irresolution, or the decrees of destiny, the French cabinet revoked the edict of Nantes. The world was aghast, the Protestants regarded it as the hour of their execution, and the weak nations shrunk with terror; but the Prince of Orange saw the hour was come to unfold the reserved strength of his great designs, and the people of England did not hesitate to sacrifice and risk all for the state, to incur even war and revolution.

Men too often decide on particular points by their immediate bearing on their individual interests. Few study or regard the great relations by which all affairs are connected; and there is no stronger proof of a difference between the capacity of two persons, than that the one brings into one view the past, present, and future, while the other temporizes, and is incapable of seeing results beyond those directly succeeding a certain cause. It is the power of rapidly combining the various parts of a subject, and carrying all their consequences into the object designed, that gives clearness of perception, vigour of thought—that entitles a man to the claim of greatness. But neither Louis nor Louvois were such men. They could only have acted from the pressure of circumstances, or the despair we feel when conscious of being invested by a chain of affairs, resembling a battery of loaded cannon, which the first movement on our part will induce the enemy to discharge. We are often placed in this extremity, when inaction, though accompanied by suspense and doubt, is the safer

policy ; while to act, is to strike the first blow for our own destruction.

Louis adopted the latter alternative. His temper was too haughty to endure the idea, that after dictating, as a conqueror, to Europe, he was to await composedly the attack of those whom he despised as inferiors. There appears no excuse for the barbarous decree, revoking the edict of Nantes, except the victory of circumstances over the foresight and caution of two men, who were attempting to control the civilized world, and amass for themselves a degree of glory, as vast as the resources which made it appear an easy attainment. They seem to have mistaken strength of prejudice for intensity of volition, and conceived the power they felt within themselves to be reflected from the weakness around them. It is no uncommon thing for men to draw false inferences of their capacity, from the regard the world gives them, or from some happy effort, which has gained applause by the seasonableness of its execution, not by the ability it displays, creating a false estimate of talent that lessens or saps future exertion.

This step of Louis relieved the king of England from much embarrassment. He now conceived, that he could more openly, with greater strength and a chance of better success, continue his practices in favour of the Catholic religion, and while Europe was silent and amazed, emulate the conduct of the French monarch. But he forgot that England was a Protestant country, and that to act on such an idea, would only increase the hostility of other nations, who already regarded him as the servant of Louis, and throw into the hands of the Prince of Orange a still greater power to be directed against him and France. The moment was inauspicious for the display of his designs. The French Protestants, carrying with them their tale of suffering, excited the rage of England. Yet in the midst and in defiance of this expression of feeling, Jefferies was made chancellor; while the wavering policy of James destroyed the confidence of his interested ally, who did not hesitate to deceive him as soon as he found that all obstacles were not at once put aside, or that James concealed any motives for delaying the great enterprise of establishing the Catholic religion. He, therefore, ordered his ministers to intimate to the most active leaders of parliament, that they had nothing to fear from France; and at the same time urged the king to fulfil his intentions, making use of the following crafty language:—"Take every occasion that shall present, dexterously to insinuate to the King of England, the interest he has in employing his authority to establish the Catholic religion, and not to let it any longer be exposed to all those penal laws, made against it in preceding reigns." This change in Louis arose from the deceitful conduct of James in attempting to

form relations with Spain and the States General, without his knowledge; also, indirectly to blame the "severities exercised against the Calvinists, to exculpate the Jesuits, and throw the odium on Madame Maintenon and the Archbishop of Paris." He also thought that it concealed a project of leaguings with his enemies, if the parliament that was just going to meet were liberal, or of imitating the vacillating and venal policy of Charles the Second. But the King of England, who had no desire to be the slave of either his parliament or Louis, wished to make use of both in acquiring the means of founding his system of absolute power. The source of James's contradictory conduct, was the ascendancy gained over him by Father Peter, a Jesuit, who was, in fact, a creature of Sunderland's, though this was not known to Peter himself, nor even suspected by James. There were, too, from the same cause, breaches between several of the members of his cabinet, whose ambitious and artful manœuvres thwarted all the views of the king, while they apparently coincided with his plans; and Halifax, whom James had caressed for his opposition to the Exclusion bill, in the preceding reign, was turned out for expressing an opinion against some of his intentions. At the meeting of the second parliament, James appeared to have reached the end of all his wishes; but his own vanity and pride marred the opportunity, and lessened the energies and exertions of his friends by ruining their hopes. The Catholics, who had committed their cause to him, and who had entered with the utmost eagerness into its advancement, saw at last that the king's impetuous and self-willed folly was fast breaking up the ground of every expectation. There were many among them, to whom England, the land of their birth, and her institutions, were more endeared than the supremacy of the Church of Rome. They were willing to dare much, and hazard every thing which did not tend to civil war and the destruction of the constitution; but when they saw the king urged by desperation to extremes, reckless of consequences and disregarding the counsels of the more prudent, though equally zealous, the Catholic party divided, and the more cautious withdrew. Their anticipations of an unhappy result were almost fulfilled by the opening words of the king's speech, in which he expressed to parliament his wish to put down the militia, and declared his intention to employ Catholics in the army. This was a virtual dispensing with the penal laws and test act, and could but excite the bitter indignation of both branches of the legislature, which was increased by the demand for a subsidy to keep up the standing army. The debates in the House of Commons were violent against the project, and it was thrown out by a great majority. The House of Lords were equally violent, and Jefferies, who undertook its defence, was silenced by the fiercest expressions of contempt and horror.

The Commons, in their address, did not agree with the king's wish, that Catholics should be allowed to serve; and James was rash enough to return a haughty reply to this mild mode of expressing their decided determination—even sending to the Tower a member of the house, who had given, unreservedly, what was the concealed feeling of the whole. The general dissatisfaction, that must have been too evident to James, left him no hope that the usual mode of allaying the excitement by a prorogation would produce a turn in his favour; and Barillon, in a letter to Louis, says, it would probably have no other effect than to increase the discontent. While in this dilemma, another of his cabinet deserted him—Sunderland, to whom all the views of James were known, entered the service of Louis for a bribe of sixty thousand pounds. Even the Pope did not recognise the actions of James, but appeared desirous of avoiding all intercourse, though he was opposed to France, and wished to unite James with him in thwarting Louis. At this critical moment, the learning of the Church of England began to be awakened to the designs of the king against its interests. Tillotson, Sherlock, Tennison, in the first rank, and a host of strong but inferior spirits, attacked and worried, by every method in their power, the Catholic and court party. This is the first instance of the wonderful effect of that great engine the press, in itself a fearful weapon, but combined with the lofty and commanding energies of the pulpit, altogether irresistible. Still, religion was here, as it is generally, but a pretext, while politics were the entire source of the controversy. When opposed, their conflict may distract a kingdom, but when united they shake thrones and dis sever nations. James must now have felt his power to be fast failing. He had exhausted himself in ineffectual attempts, and was possessed of neither force of character nor resources to bear up against such foes as the pulpit and the press—"the one terrible in its hostility, armed as it is with a legal inviolability and a respect for its sacred functions, the other always the feeble auxiliary of authority, but ever inexorable as its enemy." James, or his cabinet, may indeed be excused for not knowing the whole force of this organ of liberty and passion. It had never before been roused, and now came forward to assert rights, about which there was still a dispute whether they were not justly invaded by the king. The particular privileges of the throne, law, and people, had not been so clearly discerned or defined, as to endow an encroachment on them with the dangers and criminality of an usurpation. Acts of parliament had been passed which were the laws of the land; but kings had not yet sufficiently experienced the vengeance of an outraged nation, to make them satisfied with what was acknowledged as theirs, and to pause before they attempted to gain more by encroaching on their subjects' rights. The parliamentary decrees confirming

these, had been so lately inlaid with the constitution, as to make it doubtful with some minds, whether they were not interpolations, rather than essential parts. It must have been a sentiment of this kind, that induced James to defy the religion and laws of England; to rest on his own will, guided, as afterwards appeared, by bad counsel, and assume to himself a freedom of action, founded on no experience in the chicanery of politics, or intimacy with the complex and intricate movements of a government—one, too, at that moment struggling with its own weakness and rival hostility, and but lately emerged from a contest involving its existence. There was then an elementary war going on among many of the oldest polities. The entire structure of some was falling in pieces, and changes and revolutions were overwhelming those that had stood for ages in the pride and consequence of despotic power. The problem was solving by time, what was the form of government that could endure the longest—the one held by the grasping dominion of a single person, or that cherished by freedom. A despotism may exist by the force of arms or the apathy of slavery. The genius of one man may blend glory with a nation's history, but it seldom confirms the rights or adds to the power of a people. Military rapacity and civil order cannot co-exist, and conquest oftener destroys than establishes constitutions—neither the world nor a country derive advantage, after one of those moral scourges, a conqueror, has united his own fame with the humiliation of mankind.

Another mode that James conceived at this time, or those intending his downfall, to forward the great work of establishing the Catholic religion, was to dispense directly with the test act and penal laws. The dispensing power was a dangerous matter to discuss, in a country sensitive as England then was, for it immediately brought up the question, how could the king dispense with a law that was as binding on him as his subjects? The making of laws belonged to the parliament, and if he took upon himself to dispense with a law, it was to abrogate it, and to do this was an act of arbitrary power, virtually erecting a despotism. Yet the judges of the King's Bench, before whom the king's right of exerting the dispensing power was brought, decided in his favour, with only one dissenting opinion. With this formal sanction of the great law authorities, the king could no longer hesitate as to his course, and he at once commenced filling every office with Catholics. To fulfil the design of overturning the church, it was decided to gain the consent of Scotland to put aside the test act, and at the same time to place Ireland beneath Catholic power. If this had been done, a separation of the two countries had been ~~easy~~ ; but it was the fate of Ireland to continue a monument of iniquitous legislation.

“Ireland, a name that awakens so many recollections of oppression, injustice, and massacres, continued through ages, so strongly allied to the history of the revolution that overthrew the Stuarts, and even to the present existence of England—Ireland, that land doomed for so long a time to servitude, degradation, and misery, that land which yet presents the picture of primitive rudeness, by the side of the great, majestic, even excessive civilization of England—Ireland, whence shall part at the will of France, the thunderbolt that shall lay low its merciless sovereign, is so little known at the present day even to Europe, that it will not be useless to display this painful phenomenon of a nation oppressed, in despite of the laws of justice, and enslaved by a people that affect and proclaim unceasingly the law of civil liberty.”
—Mazure.

The forming of a camp at Hounslow, was another instance of his daring defiance of public opinion. The officers and privates were of opposite religions, and the latter were incited by pamphlets to such a state of insubordination, as to be ready at any moment to march against the king. “*Mais à l’aspect d’un autel Catholique dans son camp, cette brillante armée cessa d’être l’armée du Roi, et sous la tente chaque soldat se promettoit de ne pas subir le joug de ce qu’il nommoit le paganisme*”—Mazure. As an additional excitement to popular feeling, chapels were built, and priests and monks walked the streets in the dresses of their orders. The French refugees increased this excited feeling, by the display of their condition, and execrations against Louis. A book too, containing some severe remarks on the King of France, was ordered to be burnt by the hangman. Even Jefferies represented this as an extraordinary measure, since the work was neither written nor printed in England: to which the king replied, “dogs defend each other, when one of their number is attacked. Kings should do as much. Besides, I have reasons for not permitting such a libel on the King of France to be current in my kingdom.” An expression that was taken by the people as an implied satisfaction at the persecution of the Protestants, though Louis himself was displeased with his minister for demanding of James the burning of the pamphlet, and wrote to him—“I do not wish you to take any step to cause this writing to be burnt, nor to prevent its translation into English. Books of this sort, generally lose their credit by paying but little attention to them, and are only sought for on account of the anxiety to suppress them.” An attempt was made to collect subscriptions for the refugees, which James ordered to be stopped, wishing to please Louis by showing an eagerness to aid his views; and Bonrepaus was sent to engage some of the exiles to return to France, to restore to their native country the profits of their industry, and withdraw them from a land that they enriched, or where they

were objects of commiseration. This minister found, as he states, all the affairs of the kingdom to turn upon religion, and the king governed by the Catholics. The Pope's Nuncio was in correspondence with all the Catholics in the cabinet, though it was doubted if the Pope would sanction any attempt by the king and his party to effect their purpose, if violence were necessary or civil war a consequence. Yet affairs were in such a state, that Barillon declares: "They would attempt here, what was done in France, if there was a hope of success," and it was designed to convert the second daughter of the king, to exclude the Protestant heir to the crown. "De ce moment, le prince d'Orange prit ses mesures pour l'avenir." With all these causes of difference and bad feeling, on every side, James plunged into a dispute with the church, on the subject of the bishop of London, and an ecclesiastical commission was formed for the purpose of throwing more influence over the church into the hands of the king. This commission was an instrument of tyranny almost as great as the star chamber. It had soon an opportunity to try its powers, and the sentiments of the people. A sermon delivered by a popular preacher, was denounced as a satire on the king, and the bishop of London ordered to eject him from his living, which he declined doing, unless warranted by proper authority. This roused the indignation of the court against him, and the commission proceeded to their duties as guardians of ecclesiastical concerns. The archbishop of Canterbury refused to assist, denying the right of laymen to decide on church affairs. This was of great injury to the king, and completed the division between him and the church: the people too shared in the feeling, as the bishop, who was suspended during the king's pleasure, was regarded as a sacrifice to Catholic hatred, and became of course unboundedly popular.

It was at this time that the French minister attempted to increase the animosity between James and the Prince of Orange. The latter had always paid his father-in-law some respect, and each had observed towards the other the civilities and courtesies due from one independent power to another, and from one relative to another. The suspicions of the prince were easily excited as to the succession, and this was the great point that the Catholic party wished to decide, which France was desirous of moot-ing, and that both James and William conceived to be the greatest source of contention, as well as the most difficult of settlement. It involved all the prince cherished, as an ambitious man, but he well knew that it was the very point which would at once rouse the fiercest opposition with all interested, and might, by some turn of fortune, lead to his injury. He was informed of the measures taken by James or his cabinet, for the conversion of the Princess of Denmark, which could not but satisfy him as to

the objects of James, and the necessity there was of hastening his own plans; and it is probable that not long after, the determination was formed to invade England, and the conspiracy to carry it into effect arranged. Barillon laboured to get from James a decided opinion, as to whether the Prince of Orange was to succeed to the throne. But James always replied that there was no question with him on the subject; the succession was not with him to confirm or put aside; it was a matter settled by Heaven, but he knew full well, that enemies were labouring to raise doubts with the prince, and ruin one or both. He was right; as it was clearly the interest and intention of Louis to play off one against the other, and produce such confusion in their affairs, as to facilitate his designs on the rest of Europe. But William was not a man to be deceived by political manœuvres. It was as easy for him to seize the intentions of another, as to establish his own; and like all able conspirators he never allowed his plans to appear as if decided on or ready to be acted on, but as if his movements were the consequences of his enemy's. Such conduct shows deep sagacity, as it preserves a defensive position, and a readiness to act as circumstances prescribe, without being obliged to derange or alter the original purpose. The situation of James seems at this time to have been beyond human subtlety to comprehend. He could not understand why a foreign power, acting on his own principles, of the same religion, and who had thrown a fire-brand into every cabinet in Europe, should yet desire to destroy the only individual who had the same wishes, and was willing to adopt all his views, and enter into all his plans. Nor could he see why his own son-in-law was working his overthrow, when he was necessarily heir to the crown. Nor why a portion of his Catholic advisers urged one set of measures, and another the opposite, since both had the same interests at stake. Nor how the chief man of his cabinet could plot against him, at the time that he entered with such activity and earnestness into all his feelings and designs—and by such conduct, could of course hope for nothing from an enemy. Such a knot of perplexities was never before offered to a king, yet a single hint to any but an obstinate man, would have unsettled the devices, artifices, and schemes, that were forming around him a light but secure net, and entrapping him by the allurements of flattery. If a sincere opinion could have reached him in a form to attract notice he might have been saved, or some honest advice urging him to follow, not thwart public will, to obey, not attempt to subdue the voice of the people. But he pursued his system of futile innovation, and instead of retracting or hesitating, became every day bolder. He did not remember, that in England as in all old countries, the people live on traditionary recollections, that every feeling is fixed in

an attachment to the past, and that to urge them to surrender a right, is to raise with them further demands for its security.

“In a country where the laws and public opinion have a real and sovereign power, since their organs are powerful, it is a dangerous experiment to tempt the honour and conscience of men by base offers of advantage. A prince can never wound or corrupt with impunity that which is noble in the heart of man.” He who uses the interests of men as the sole instruments for stimulating them to exertion, may succeed in his selfish ends while he has any thing to offer, or they any thing to gain by subserviency to his views. But when this control ceases, there is a terrible reaction, and demoralization ensues from all practices on human virtue. The unprincipled and ambitious see but the common path by which men can be brought to serve their purposes, and the extent of unfortunate consequences is in proportion to their abilities, and the magnitude of their plans. With such men, talent is the standard of merit, and a ready submission the measure of utility. In their hour of misfortune, in looking on the ruins of their empire of hopes, they miss one of the consolations of fallen greatness, a virtuous conscience, and find retorted on themselves their own lessons, in the perfidious desertion of those whose worth and reputation were but the emanations of their glory. James was thus made the tool of the more cunning, and in every more open violation of the laws of England pursued the course his enemies designed. In trying to suspend the penal laws, he irritated the feelings of a country where all things give way to law and precedent, and where, from the force of existing prejudices, innovations on any established forms or principles is revolution. But James was not startled at this dilemma. He determined to struggle to secure his object, not with the resolution of an energetic mind, but with the perverse will of obstinacy; and some further attacks on the church inflamed the nation still more. While he was thus engaged in domestic affairs, his rival was adding to his fame and increasing his strength. A league had been made by the Prince with some other powers, to prevent any further aggrandizement by the ambition of Louis. The King of France had now the larger portion of Europe against him, and William was burning to head the large army preparing to attack France, as the means of adding to his importance and diminishing that of Louis. James should have seen that it was impossible for him to remain neutral, yet he regarded nothing but his own ends, and at the same time continued his quarrels with the church, embroiling himself also with the universities, while he was warned by Louis of the impracticability of establishing the Catholic religion without the aid of parliament, and that the idea of engrossing all authority was chimerical.

James opened a controversy with the Universities, by endea-

vouring to break through some of their regulations concerning Catholics. The attacks upon these powerful and popular institutions, were the most dangerous he had yet made. They displayed to his own party that he was weak, and to the nation that there was no safety for their religion; stimulated the Church to the most violent exertions, and gave an impulse to the outcries and indignation of every enemy. But all that he now undertook was mortifying to his pride as a sovereign, and to his feelings as a man. He felt the necessity of conciliating the King of France at the expense of his dignity—of showing his subjects that all connexion between them was dissolved—that their interests were divided, and all sympathy removed.

At the commencement of his reign, he began his public acknowledgment of pontifical authority, and he now proved that his submission was unreserved, in permitting the Nuncio to make a public appearance, with the insignia of his privileges, while he and his queen knelt before him:—and of this act of degradation, both personal and national, James boasted to the French minister.

“The king, your master, will, without doubt, learn with pleasure, that a Catholic Prelate has been publicly honoured at my court; and on leaving Barillon, again said, you see I omit nothing in my power: I hope the king, your master, will assist me, and that, together, we shall do great things for our religion. The Spanish minister openly expressed astonishment at the concourse of priests in the habits of their orders. But, demanded the king, is it not the custom in Spain for kings to consult their confessors? Undoubtedly, replied Don Roquillo, and it is for that reason our affairs are so badly managed.”—Mazure, Vol. iii.

The Nuncio himself was an unwilling actor in this insolent outrage, and at that time James’s envoy at the Court of Rome, was exposing his own folly and that of his master, so as to call down the indignation of the Pope. While James was thus frustrating his own plans, the Prince was proceeding in a direct course to his object, concealing, however, every intention beneath an impenetrable mystery. Every thing tended to the ruin of James. Even his own instruments betrayed him, and his ministers, who discovered that they were on the losing side, were securing their fortunes in the reward of their treachery.

“Sunderland demanded of Barillon his semi-annual bribe in advance, as if he foresaw that each payment would probably be the last. D’Abbeville received from the Count Davaux two thousand pounds, and the first clerk of the admiralty surrendered, for a hundred guineas, all the state secrets; whilst Father Peter persisted, in the hope of a cardinal’s hat, in precipitating his unfortunate sovereign on the most hazardous designs.”—Mazure, Vol. iii.

This is the common picture of human nature, when circum-

stances subserve our interests, when danger drives men to cowardly expedients, and the dread and excitement of the moment suppress every feeling but those attached to the individual. The effect was the same among sects bearing towards each other a deadly hostility. The Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers, though in collision with the Church of England, and disposed to revenge by the bitter and unintermitted persecution they had endured from that proud hierarchy, yet joined with her in the common cause of expelling the Catholics. It was not from the love of truth, nor because they conceived their religion to be the true one, nor from a magnanimous desire of preserving their liberties; but because it would have been dangerous to trust a king who spurned all other forms of worship but his own. It was for their interest to destroy the man, and they threw aside mutual discontents to combine for their own sakes. The king felt that he was now utterly deserted, and could confide in no one.

“The king of England,” writes Bonrepaus, in his despatches to Louis, “appears unhappy at having no one on whom he can rely; but he would be still more so, if he saw all that others see. His ministers are looking to his successor, as if he were already at the gates of London, and could compel them to render an account of all they have done against the laws and the crown. The king pretends, that he has attempted to maintain the royal prerogative—the Prince of Orange replies, that the suppression of the penal laws and test act destroys entirely the authority of the king, in calling the republicans to the government—and on this ground he calls to account those who yield to the will of his Britannic majesty, with an audacity that would enrage men bred in the respect and love of their legitimate king.”—Mazure, Vol. iii.

The mind of the British public was now prepared for the coming of the Prince of Orange. The nation felt that the present state could not last. The king was a prisoner in his dominions, and thus bereft of power and forsaken by public opinion—his fall must be near. A rival, too, was in the field, who did not come as a stranger, but already shared some of those feelings of attachment which were claimed as of right by the *legitimate* monarch. When he at length arrived, there was no resistance; James had been warned by the King of France, that the preparations then making in the ports of Holland were to be directed against England. But a false and fatal idea of security, or an obstinate pride, seems to have betrayed him into incredulity, on all the rumours that reached him concerning the prince's designs; and till the landing of the Dutch troops, James's perceptions were not cleared to the full view of his total destruction. He was thus a victim to his own policy. He mistook the age. He placed himself beyond his father's time, and without the power

of being impressed by his example. The republican spirit that brought the one to the block had gained strength ; it had become less violent, but more fixed in its purposes—sterner, but from the consciousness of its force more disposed to forgive. He did not see that it was the natural result of the institutions of England, and had not been weakened by exhausting burdens or extended corruption ; but that its purity rendered its exercise more open and more to be dreaded—its vigour better directed, and more irresistible.

ART. VIII.—ABOLITION OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

- 1.—*Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831–32, on the Abolition of Slavery.* Richmond.
- 2.—*Letter of Appomatox to the People of Virginia on the subject of the Abolition of Slavery.* Richmond.

IN looking to the texture of the population of our country, there is nothing so well calculated to arrest the attention of the observer as the existence of negro slavery throughout a large portion of the confederacy ; a race of people differing from us in colour and in habits, and vastly inferior in the scale of civilization, have been increasing and spreading—“growing with our growth and strengthening with our strength”—until they have become intertwined with every fibre of society. Go through our southern states, and every where you see the negro slave by the side of the white man, you find him alike in the mansion of the rich, the cabin of the poor, the workshop of the mechanic, and the field of the planter. Upon the contemplation of a population framed like this, a curious and interesting question readily suggests itself to the inquiring mind. Can these two distinct races of people, now living together as master and servant, be ever separated? Can the black be sent back to his African home? or will the day ever arrive when he can be liberated from this thralldom, and mount in the scale of civilization and rights to an equality with the white? This is a question of truly momentous character: it involves the whole framework of society, contemplates a separation of its elements, or a radical change in their relation, and requires for its adequate investigation the most complete and profound knowledge of the nature and sources of national wealth and political aggrandizement, an acquaintance with the elastic and powerful spring of population, and the causes which invigorate or paralyze its ener-

gies. It requires a clear perception of the varying rights of man amid all the changing circumstances by which he may be surrounded; and a profound knowledge of all the principles, passions, and susceptibilities, which make up the moral nature of our species, and according as they are acted upon by adventitious circumstances, alter our condition, and produce all that wonderful variety of character which so strongly marks and characterizes the human family. Well, then, does it behoove even the wisest statesman to approach this august subject with the utmost circumspection and diffidence; its wanton agitation even is pregnant with mischief, but rash and hasty action threatens, in our opinion, the whole southern country with irremediable ruin. The evil of *yesterday's* growth may be extirpated *to-day*, and the vigour of society may heal the wound; but that which is the growth of *ages* may require *ages* to remove. The Parliament of Great Britain, with all its philanthropic zeal, guided by the wisdom and eloquence of such statesmen as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt, Canning, and Brougham, has never yet seriously agitated this question, in regard to the West India possessions. Revolutionary France, actuated by the most intemperate and phrenetic zeal for liberty and equality, attempted to legislate the free people of colour in the Island of St. Domingo into all the rights and privileges of the whites; and but a season afterwards, convinced of her madness, she attempted to retrace her steps, when it was too late; the deed had been done, the bloodiest and most shocking insurrection ever recorded in the annals of history had broken out, and the whole island was involved in frightful carnage and anarchy, and France in the end has been stript of "the brightest jewel in her crown,"—the fairest and most valuable of all her colonial possessions. Since the revolution, France, Spain, and Portugal, large owners of colonial possessions, have not only not abolished slavery in their colonies, but have not even abolished the slave trade in practice.

In our southern slave-holding country, the question of emancipation had never been seriously discussed in any of our legislatures, until the whole subject, under the most exciting circumstances, was, during the last winter, brought up for discussion in the Virginia legislature, and plans of partial or total abolition were earnestly pressed upon the attention of that body. It is well known, that during the last summer, in the county of Southampton in Virginia, a few slaves, led on by Nat Turner, rose in the night, and murdered in the most inhuman and shocking manner between sixty and seventy of the unsuspecting whites of that county. The news of course was rapidly diffused, and with it consternation and dismay were spread throughout the state, destroying for a time all feeling of security and confidence, and even when subsequent development had proven, that the

conspiracy had originated with a fanatic negro preacher, (whose confessions prove beyond a doubt mental aberration,) and that this conspiracy embraced but few slaves, all of whom had paid the penalty of their crimes, still the excitement remained, still the repose of the commonwealth was disturbed, for the ghastly horrors of the Southampton tragedy could not immediately be banished from the mind. *Rumour*, with her thousand tongues, was busily engaged in spreading tales of disaffection, plots, insurrections, and even massacres, which frightened the timid, and harassed and mortified the whole of the slave-holding population. During this period of excitement, when reason was almost banished from the mind, and the imagination was suffered to conjure up the most appalling phantoms, and picture to itself a crisis in the vista of futurity, when the overwhelming numbers of the blacks would rise superior to all restraint, and involve the finest portion of our land in universal ruin and desolation, we are not to wonder that even in the lower part of Virginia many should have seriously inquired, if this supposed monstrous evil could not be removed from her bosom. Some looked to the removal of the free people of colour, by the efforts of the Colonization Society, as an antidote to all our ills; some were disposed to strike at the root of the evil, to call on the general government for aid, and by the labours of *Hercules* to extirpate the curse of slavery from the land; and others again, who could not bear that Virginia should stand towards the general government (whose unconstitutional action she had ever been foremost to resist) in the attitude of a suppliant, looked forward to the legislative action of the state as capable of achieving the desired result. In this degree of excitement and apprehension, the legislature met, and plans for abolition were proposed and earnestly advocated in debate.

- Upon the impropriety of this debate we beg leave to make a few observations. Any scheme of abolition proposed so soon after the Southampton tragedy, would necessarily appear to be the result of that most inhuman massacre. Suppose the negroes, then, to be really anxious for their emancipation, no matter on what terms, would not the extraordinary effect produced on the legislature by the Southampton insurrection, in all probability have a tendency to excite another? And we must recollect, from the nature of things, no plan of abolition could act suddenly on the whole mass of slave population in the state. Mr. Randolph's was not even to commence its operation till 1840. Waiting, then, one year or more until the excitement could be allayed, and the empire of reason could once more have been established, would surely have been productive of no injurious consequences, and in the mean time a legislature could have been selected which would much better have represented the views and wishes of

their constituents on this vital question. Virginia could have ascertained the sentiments and wishes of other slave-holding states, whose concurrence, if not absolutely necessary, might be highly desirable, and should have been sought after and attended to, at least as a matter of state courtesy. Added to this, the texture of the legislature was not of that character calculated to ensure the confidence of the people in a movement of this kind. If ever there was a question debated in a deliberative body, which called for the most exalted talent, the longest and most tried experience, the utmost circumspection and caution, a complete exemption from prejudice and undue excitement where both are apt to prevail, an ardent and patriotic desire to advance the vital interests of the state, uncombined with all mere desire for vain and ostentatious display, and with no view to party or geographical divisions, that question was the question of the *abolition of slavery* in the Virginia legislature. "*Grave and reverend seniors,*" "the very fathers of the republic," were indeed required for the settlement of one of such magnitude. It appears, however, that the legislature was composed of an unusual number of young and inexperienced members, elected in the month of April previous to the Southampton massacre, and at a time of profound tranquillity and repose, when of course the people were not disposed to call from their retirement their most distinguished and experienced citizens.

We are very ready to admit, that in point of ability and eloquence, the debate transcended our expectations. One of the leading political papers in the state remarked—"We have never heard any debate so eloquent, so sustained, and in which so great a number of speakers had appeared, and commanded the attention of so numerous and intelligent an audience. Day after day multitudes throng to the capital, and have been compensated by eloquence which would have illustrated Rome or Athens." But however fine might have been the rhetorical display, however ably some isolated points might have been discussed, still we affirm, with confidence, that no enlarged, wise, and practical plan of operations, was proposed by the abolitionists. We will go further, and assert that their arguments, in most cases, were of a wild and intemperate character, based upon false principles, and assumptions of the most vicious and alarming kind, subversive of the rights of property and the order and tranquillity of society, and portending to the whole slave-holding country—if they ever shall be followed out in practice—inevitable and ruinous consequences. Far be it, however, from us, to accuse the abolitionists in the Virginia legislature of any settled malevolent design to overturn or convulse the fabric of society. We have no doubt that they were acting conscientiously for the best; but it often happens that frail imperfect man, in the too

ardent and confident pursuit of imaginary good, runs upon his utter destruction.

We have not formed our opinion lightly upon this subject; we have given to the vital question of abolition the most mature and intense consideration which we are capable of bestowing, and we have come to the conclusion—a conclusion which seems to be sustained by facts and reasoning as irresistible as the demonstration of the mathematician—that every plan of emancipation and deportation which we can possibly conceive, is *totally* impracticable. We shall endeavour to prove, that the attempt to execute these plans can only have a tendency to increase all the evils of which we complain, as resulting from slavery. If this be true, then the great question of abolition will necessarily be reduced to the question of emancipation, with a permission to remain, which we think can easily be shown to be subversive of the interests, security, and happiness, of both the blacks and whites, and consequently hostile to every principle of expediency, morality, and religion. We have heretofore doubted the propriety even of too frequently agitating, especially in a public manner, the questions of abolition, in consequence of the injurious effects which might be produced on the slave population. But the Virginia legislature, in its zeal for discussion, boldly set aside all prudential considerations of this kind, and openly and publicly debated the subject before the whole world. The seal has now been broken, the example has been set from a high quarter; we shall, therefore, waive all considerations of a prudential character which have heretofore restrained us, and boldly grapple with the abolitionists on this great question. We fear not the result, so far as truth, justice, and expediency alone are concerned. But we must be permitted to say, that we do most deeply dread the effects of misguided philanthropy, and the intrusion, in this matter, of those who have no interest at stake, and who have not that intimate and minute knowledge of the whole subject so absolutely necessary to wise action.

In our study, we began the examination of this subject with a general inquiry into the origin of slavery in ancient and modern times, and proceeded to a consideration of the slave trade, by which slavery has been introduced into the United States. We indicated the true sources of slavery, and the principles upon which it rests, in order that the value of those arguments founded on the maxims that “all men are born equal,” that “slavery in the abstract is wrong,” that “the slave has a natural right to regain his liberty,” and so forth, might be fully appreciated. We endeavoured to show that those maxims may be and generally are inapplicable and mischievous, and that something else is requisite to convert slavery into freedom, than the mere enunciation of abstract truths divested of all adventitious circumstances and

relations. But this first principal division of our subject proved so voluminous that we have been obliged to set it aside for the present, in order to obtain room for the more pressing and important topics of the great question which we undertook to treat. Upon these we enter, therefore, at once, and inquire seriously and fairly whether there be means by which our country may get rid of negro slavery.

Plans for the Abolition of Slavery.

Under this head we will consider, first, those schemes which propose abolition and deportation, and secondly, those which contemplate emancipation without deportation. 1st. In the late Virginia legislature, where the subject of slavery underwent the most thorough discussion, all seemed to be perfectly agreed in the necessity of removal in case of emancipation. Several members from the lower counties, which are deeply interested in this question, seemed to be sanguine in their anticipations of the final success of some project of emancipation and deportation to Africa, the original home of the negro. "Let us translate them," said one of the most respected and able members of the Legislature, (Gen. Broadnax,) "to those realms from which, in evil times, under inauspicious influences, their fathers were unfortunately abducted.—Mr. Speaker, the idea of restoring these people to the region in which nature had planted them, and to whose climate she had fitted their constitutions—the idea of benefiting not only our condition and their condition by the removal, but making them the means of carrying back to a great continent, lost in the profoundest depths of savage barbarity, unconscious of the existence even of the God who created them, not only the arts and comforts and multiplied advantages of civilized life, but what is of more value than all, a knowledge of true religion—intelligence of a Redeemer—is one of the grandest and noblest, one of the most expansive and glorious ideas which ever entered into the imagination of man. The conception, whether to the philosopher, the statesman, the philanthropist, or the Christian, of rearing up a colony which is to be the nucleus around which future emigration will concenter, and open all Africa to civilization and commerce, and science and arts and religion—when Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands, indeed, is one which warms the heart with delight." (*Speech of Gen. Broadnax of Dinwiddie*, pp. 36 and 37.) We fear that this splendid vision, the creation of a brilliant imagination, inspired by the pure feelings of a philanthropic and generous heart, is destined to vanish at the severe touch of analysis. Fortunately for reason and common sense, all these projects of deportation may be subjected to the most rigid and accurate cal-

culations, which are amply sufficient to dispel all doubt, even in the minds of the most sanguine, as to their practicability.

We take it for granted that the right of the owner to his slave is to be respected, and consequently that he is not required to emancipate him, unless his full value is paid by the state. Let us then, keeping this in view, proceed to the very simple calculation of the expense of emancipation and deportation in Virginia. The slaves, by the last census (1830) amounted within a small fraction to 470,000; the average value of each one of these is \$200; consequently the whole aggregate value of the slave population of Virginia in 1830, was \$94,000,000, and allowing for the increase since, we cannot err far in putting the present value at \$100,000,000. The assessed value of all the houses and lands in the state amounts to \$206,000,000, and these constitute the material items in the wealth of the state, the whole personal property besides bearing but a very small proportion to the value of slaves, lands, and houses. Now, do not these very simple statistics speak volumes upon this subject? It is gravely recommended to the state of Virginia to give up a species of property which constitutes nearly one-third of the wealth of the whole state, and almost one-half of that of Lower Virginia, and with the remaining two-thirds to encounter the additional enormous expense of transportation and colonization on the coast of Africa. But the loss of \$100,000,000 of property is scarcely the half of what Virginia would lose, if the immutable laws of nature could suffer (as fortunately they cannot) this tremendous scheme of colonization to be carried into full effect. Is it not population which makes our lands and houses valuable? Why are lots in Paris and London worth more than the silver dollars which it might take to cover them? Why are lands of equal fertility in England and France worth more than those of our Northern States, and those again worth more than Southern soils, and those in turn worth more than the soils of the distant West? It is the presence or absence of population which alone can explain the fact. It is in truth the slave labour in Virginia which gives value to her soil and her habitations—take away this and you pull down the atlas that upholds the whole system—eject from the state the whole slave population, and we risk nothing in the prediction, that on the day in which it shall be accomplished, the worn soils of Virginia will not bear the paltry price of the government lands in the West, and the Old Dominion will be a “waste howling wilderness,”—“the grass shall be seen growing in the streets, and the foxes peeping from their holes.”

But the favourers of this scheme say they do not contend for the sudden emancipation and deportation of the whole black population;—they would send off only the increase, and thereby keep down the population to its present amount, while the whites

increasing at their usual rate would finally become relatively so numerous as to render the presence of the blacks among us for ever afterwards entirely harmless. This scheme, which at first to the unreflecting seems plausible, and much less wild than the project of sending off the whole, is nevertheless impracticable and visionary, as we think a few remarks will prove. It is computed that the annual increase of the slaves and free coloured population of Virginia is about six thousand. Let us first, then, make a calculation of the expense of purchase and transportation. At \$200 each, the six thousand will amount in value to \$1,200,000. At \$30 each, for transportation, which we shall soon see is too little, we have the whole expense of purchase and transportation \$1,380,000, an expense to be annually incurred by Virginia to keep down her black population to its present amount. And let us ask, is there any one who can seriously argue that Virginia can incur such an annual expense as this for the next twenty-five or fifty years, until the whites have multiplied so greatly upon the blacks, as in the *opinion* of the *alarmists* for ever to quiet the fears of the community? Vain and delusive hope, if any was ever wild enough to entertain it! We should as soon expect the *Chamois*, the hardy rover over Alpine regions, by its unassisted strength to hurl down the snowy mantle which for ages has clothed the lofty summit of Mont Blanc, as that Virginia will be ever able by her own resources to purchase and colonize on the coast of Africa six thousand slaves for any number of years in succession.

But this does not develop to its full extent the monstrous absurdity of this scheme. There is a view of it yet to be taken, which seems not to have struck very forcibly any of the speakers in the Virginia legislature, but which appears to us of itself perfectly conclusive against this whole project. We have made some efforts to obtain something like an accurate account of the number of negroes every year carried out of Virginia to the south and south-west. We have not been enabled to succeed completely; but from all the information we can obtain, we have no hesitation in saying, that upwards of six thousand are yearly exported to other states. Virginia is in fact a *negro* raising state for other states; she produces enough for her own supply and six thousand for sale. Now, suppose the government of Virginia enters the slave market, resolved to purchase six thousand for emancipation and deportation, is it not evident that it must overbid the southern seeker, and thus take the very slaves who would have gone to the south? The very first operation then of this scheme, provided slaves be treated as property, is to arrest the current which has been hitherto flowing to the south, and to accumulate the evil in the state. As sure as the moon in her transit over the meridian arrests the current which is gliding to the

ocean, so sure will the action of the Virginia government, in an attempt to emancipate and send off 6000 slaves, stop those who are annually going out of the state; and when 6000 are sent off in any one year, (which we never expect to see) it will be found on investigation that they are those who would have been sent out of the state by the operation of our slave trade, and to the utter astonishment and confusion of our abolitionists, the black population will be found advancing with its usual rapidity—the only operation of the scheme being to substitute our government, *alias ourselves*, as purchasers, instead of the planters of the south. This is a view which every legislator in the state should take. He should beware lest in his zeal for action, this efflux, which is now so salutary to the state, and such an abundant source of wealth, be suddenly dried up, and all the evils of slavery be increased instead of diminished. If government really could enter with capital and zeal enough into the boundless project, we might even in a few years see the laws of nature reversed, and the tide of slavery flowing from the south into Virginia, to satisfy the philanthropic demand for colonization. The only means which the government could use to prevent the above described effect, would be either arbitrarily to fix the price of slaves below their market value, which would be a clear violation of the right of property, (which we shall presently notice,) or to excite a feeling of insecurity and apprehension as to this kind of property, and thus dispose the owner to part with it at less than its true value:—but surely no statesman would openly avow such an object, although it must be confessed that some of the speakers even who contended that slaves should ever be treated as property, avowed sentiments which were well calculated to produce such a result.

It is said, however, that the southern market will at all events be closed against us, and consequently that the preceding argument falls to the ground. To this we answer, that as long as the demand to the south exists, the supply will be furnished in some way or other, if our government do not unwisely tamper with the subject. Bryan Edwards has said, that “an attempt to prevent the introduction of slaves into the West Indies, would be like churning the winds, or giving laws to the ocean.” We may with truth affirm, that an attempt to prevent a circulation of this kind of property through the slave-holding states of our confederacy, would be equally if not more impracticable. But there is a most striking illustration of this now exhibiting before our eyes—the Southampton massacre produced great excitement and apprehension throughout the slave-holding states, and two of them, hitherto the largest purchasers of Virginia slaves, have interdicted their introduction under severe penalties. Many in our state looked forward to an immediate fall in the price of

slaves from this cause—and what has been the result? Why, wonderful to relate, Virginia slaves are now higher than they have been for many years past—and this rise in price has no doubt been occasioned by the number of southern purchasers who have visited our state, under the belief that Virginians had been frightened into a determination to get clear of their slaves at all events; and we are, consequently, at this moment, exporting slaves more rapidly, through the operation of the internal slave trade, than for many years past.

Let us now examine a moment into the object proposed to be accomplished by this scheme. It is contended that free labour is infinitely superior to slave labour in every point of view, and therefore that it is highly desirable to exchange the latter for the former, and that this will be gradually accomplished by emancipation and deportation; because the vacuum occasioned by the exportation of the slaves will be filled up by the influx of free-men from the north and other portions of the Union—and thus, for every slave we lose, it is contended we shall receive in exchange a free labourer, much more productive and more moral. If we are not greatly mistaken, this, on analysis, will be found to be a complete specimen of that arithmetical *school boy* reasoning, which has ever proved so deceptive in politics, and so ruinous in its practical consequences. We shall canvass, before concluding this review, the general assertion, that free labour is superior in cheapness and productiveness to slave labour; but for the present we will allow all that is asserted on this head, and that it is very desirable on our part to make the exchange of slave for free labour. Let us now see whether this plan of abolition and transportation be calculated to effect it; and in order that we may fully examine the project in this point of view, we will endeavour first to trace out its operation on the slave population, and then on the white.

Since the publication of the celebrated work of Dr. Malthus on the “principle of population,” the knowledge of the causes which affect its condition and increase, is much more widely diffused. It is now well known to every studier of political economy, that in the wide range of legislation, there is nothing more dangerous than too much tampering with the elastic and powerful *spring* of population.

The energies of government are for the most part feeble or impotent when arrayed against its action. It is this procreative power of the human species, either exerted or dormant, which so frequently brushes away *in reality* the visionary fabrics of the philanthropists, and mars the cherished plots and schemes of statesmen. Euler has endeavoured to prove, by some calculations, that the human species, under the most favourable circumstances, is capable of doubling itself once in twelve years. In

our western country, the progress of population has, in many extensive districts, been so rapid as to show, in our opinion most conclusively, that it is capable of doubling itself once in fifteen years without the aid of emigration. The whole of our population, since the independence of the United States, has shown itself fully capable of duplication in periods of twenty-five years, without the accession from abroad.* In some portions of our country the population is stationary, in others but very slowly advancing. We will assume then for the two extremes in our country, the stationary condition on the one side, and such increase on the other as to give rise to a duplication every fifteen years. Now as throughout the whole range comprehended between these extremes, population is capable of exerting various degrees of energy, it is very evident that the statesman who wishes to increase or diminish population, must look cautiously to the effect of his measures on its spring, and see how this will be acted on. If for example his object be to lessen the number of a slowly increasing population, he must be convinced that his plan does not stimulate the procreative energies of society to produce more than he is capable of taking away; or if his object be to increase the numbers, take heed lest his project deaden and paralyze the source of increase so much as to more than counterbalance any effort of his. Now looking at the texture of the Virginia population, the desideratum is to diminish the blacks and increase the whites. Let us see how the scheme of emancipation and deportation will act. We have already shown that the first operation of the plan, if slave property were rigidly respected and never taken without full compensation, would be to put a stop to the efflux from the state through other channels; but this would not be the only effect. Government entering into the market with individuals, would elevate the price of slaves beyond their natural value, and consequently the raising of them would become an object of primary importance throughout the whole state. We can readily imagine that the price of slaves might become so great that each master would do all in his power to encourage marriage among them—would allow the females almost entire exemption from labour, that they might the better breed and nurse—and would so completely concentrate his efforts upon this object, as to neglect other schemes and less productive sources of wealth. Under these circumstances the prolific African might no doubt be stimulated to press hard upon one of the limits above stated, doubling his numbers in fifteen years; and such is the tendency which our abolition schemes, if ever seriously engaged in, will most undoubtedly produce; they will be certain

* The longest period of duplication has been about twenty-three years and seven months, so that the addition of one year and five months will more than compensate for the emigration.

to stimulate the procreative powers of that very race which they are aiming to diminish; they will enlarge and invigorate the very monster which they are endeavouring to stifle, and realize the beautiful but melancholy fable of Sisyphus, by an eternal renovation of hope and disappointment. If it were possible for Virginia to purchase and send off annually for the next twenty-five or fifty years, 12,000 slaves, we should have very little hesitation in affirming, that the number of slaves in Virginia would not be at all lessened by the operation, and at the conclusion of the period such habits would be generated among our blacks, that for a long time after the cessation of the drain, population might advance so rapidly as to produce among us all the calamities and miseries of an over crowded people.

We are not now dealing in mere conjecture; there is ample proof of the correctness of these anticipations in the history of our own hemisphere. The West India islands, as we have before seen, are supplied with slaves more cheaply by the African slave trader than they can raise them, and consequently the black population in the Islands nowhere keeps up its numbers by natural increase. Even in the Island of Cuba, where the negro slave is treated as humanely as any where on the globe, from 1804 to 1817 the blacks lost 4,461 upon the stock of 1804. "Prior to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States," says Mr. Clay in his Colonization Speech of 1830, "the supply of slaves from Africa was abundant. The price of adults was generally about one hundred dollars, a price less than the cost of raising an infant. Then it was believed that the climate of the province was unfavourable to the rearing of negro children, and comparatively few were raised. After the United States abolished the slave trade the price of adults rose very considerably—greater attention was consequently bestowed on their children, and now nowhere is the African female more prolific than she is in Louisiana, and the climate of no one of the southern states is supposed to be more favourable to the rearing of her offspring." For a similar reason now, the slaves in Virginia multiply more rapidly than in most of the southern states;—the Virginians can raise cheaper than they can buy; in fact it is one of their greatest sources of profit. In many of the other slave-holding states this is not the case, and consequently the same care is not taken to encourage matrimony and the rearing of children.

It was upon this very principle, that Mr. Pitt, in 1791, based the masterly and unanswerable argument contained in his splendid speech on the abolition of the slave trade; in which he proved upon data furnished by the West India planters themselves, that the moment an end was put to the slave trade, the natural increase of the negroes would commence, and more than keep up their numbers in the Islands.

But our opponents perhaps may be disposed to answer, that this increase of slavery from the stimulus to the black population afforded by the colonization abroad, ought not to be objected to on our own principles, since each slave will be worth two hundred dollars or more. This answer would be correct enough if it were not that the increase of the blacks is effected at our expense both as to wealth and numbers; and to show this, we will now proceed to point out the operation of the scheme under consideration upon the white population. Malthus has clearly shown that population depends on the *means of subsistence*, and will, under ordinary circumstances, increase to a level with them. Now by means of subsistence we must not only comprehend the necessities of life, such as food, clothing, shelter, &c., but likewise such conveniencies, comforts, and even luxuries, as the habits of the society may render it essential for all to enjoy. Whatever then has a tendency to destroy the wealth and diminish the aggregate capital of society, has the effect, as long as the *standard of comfort** remains the same, to check the progress of the population.

It is sure to discourage matrimony, and cause children to be less carefully attended to, and to be less abundantly supplied. The heavy burthens which have hitherto been imposed on Virginia, through the operation of Federal exactions, together with the *high standard* of comfort prevalent throughout the whole state, (about which we shall by and by make a few observations) have already imposed checks upon the progress of the white population of the state. If not one single individual were to emigrate from the state of Virginia, it would be found, so inert has become the principle of increase in the state, that the population would not advance with the average rapidity of the American people. Now, under these circumstances, an imposition of an additional burthen of \$1,380,000 for the purpose of purchase and deportation of slaves, would add so much to the taxes of the citizens—would subtract so much from the capital of the state, and increase so greatly the embarrassments of the whole population, that fewer persons would be enabled to support families, and consequently to get married. This great tax, added to those we are already suffering under, would weigh like an incubus upon the whole state—it would operate like the blighting hand of Providence that should render our soil barren and our labour unproductive. It would diminish the value of the *fee simple* of Virginia, and not only check the natural increase of population within the commonwealth, but would make every man desirous of quitting the scenes of his home and his infancy, and

* By standard of comfort we mean that amount of necessities, conveniencies, and luxuries, which the habits of any people render essential to them.

fleeing from the heavy burthen which would for ever keep him and his children buried in the depths of poverty. His sale of negroes would partly enable him to emigrate; and we have little doubt, that whenever this wild scheme shall be seriously commenced, it will be found that more whites than negroes will be banished by its operation from the state. And there will be this lamentable difference between those who are left behind; a powerful stimulus will be given to the procreative energies of the blacks, while those of the whites will be paralyzed and destroyed. Every emigrant from among the whites will create a vacuum not to be supplied—every removal of a black will stimulate to the generation of another.

“Uno avulso non deficit alter.”

The *poverty* stricken master would rejoice in the prolificness of his female slave, but pray Heaven in its kindness to strike with barrenness his own spouse, lest in the plenitude of his misfortunes, brought on by the wild and Quixotic philanthropy of his government, he might see around him a numerous offspring unprovided for and destined to galling indigence.

It is almost useless to inquire whether this deportation of slaves to Africa would, as some seem most strangely to anticipate, invite the whites of other states into the commonwealth. Who would be disposed to enter a state with worn out soil and a black population mortgaged to the payment of millions per annum, for the purpose of emancipation and deportation, when in the West the most luxuriant soils, unencumbered with heavy exactions, could be purchased for the paltry sum of \$1 25 per acre?

Where, then, is that multitude of whites to come from, which the glowing fancy of orators has sketched out as flowing into and filling up the vacuum created by the removal of slaves? The fact is—throughout the whole debate in the Virginia legislature, the speakers seemed to consider the increase of population as a sort of fixed quantity, which would remain the same under the endless change of circumstance, and consequently that every man exported from among the blacks, lessened *pro tanto* exactly the black population, and that the whites, moving on with their usual speed, would fill the void; which certainly was an erroneous supposition, and manifested an almost unpardonable inattention to the wonderful *elasticity* of the powerful spring of population. The removal of inhabitants, accompanied with great loss of productive labour and capital, so far from leaving the residue in a better situation, and disposing them to increase and multiply, produces the directly opposite effect; it deteriorates the condition of society, and deadens the spring of population. It is curious to look to the history of the world, and see how completely this position is sustained by facts. Since the downfall of

the Roman empire, there have been three forced emigrations of very considerable extent, from three of the countries of Europe. The Moors were expelled from Spain, the Protestants from the Netherlands, and the Hugonots from France; each of these expulsions came well nigh ruining the country from which it took place. We are best acquainted with the effects of the expulsion of the Hugonots from France, because it happened nearer to our own times, during the reign of Louis XIV. In this case only 500,000 are supposed to have left France, containing then a population of 20 or 25,000,000 of souls. The energies of this mighty country seemed at once paralyzed by this emigration, her prosperity was instantly arrested, her remaining population lost the vigour which characterized them as long as this *leven* was among them, and to this day, France has not recovered from the tremendous blow. Her inferiority to England, in industry and all the useful arts, is in a great measure to be traced back to this stupid intolerance of her *great* monarch Louis XIV. The reason why these expulsions were so very injurious to the countries in question, was because the emigrants were the labouring classes of society, and their banishment consequently dried up the sources of production, and lessened the aggregate wealth and capital of the people. Now these expulsions are *nothing* in comparison with that contemplated by our abolitionists. In France only one in fifty of the population was expelled, and no expense was incurred in the deportation; but in Virginia the proportion to be expelled is much greater, and the expense is to devolve on the government.

When the emigration is accompanied with no loss of capital to the state, and no abstraction of *productive* labour, then the population will not be injuriously affected, but sometimes greatly benefited. In the hunting state, the expulsion of half of the tribe would benefit the remainder in a politico-economical light, because they live on the game of the forest, which becomes more abundant as soon as the consumers diminish. Pastoral nations, for a like reason, are rarely injured by emigration, for they live on cattle, and the cattle live on the spontaneous produce of the earth, and when a colony is sent off, the remainder will generally be benefited, since the consumption is relieved while the production is not diminished. And this satisfactorily explains the difficulty which has so much puzzled historians:—how the North of Europe, which Gibbon, Hume, and Robertson, all maintain was in a pastoral state, and not nearly so thickly settled as at present, should nevertheless have been able for several centuries to furnish those terrible swarms of barbarians, who “gathering fresh darkness and terror” as they rolled on upon the South, at length, with their congregated multitudes, “obscured the sun of Italy, and sunk the Roman world in night.” This example of

the barbarians in the North of Europe, sending so many hundreds of thousands of emigrants to the South, is a beautiful illustration of the capacity of population to counteract the effects of emigration in all those cases where the spring of population is not weakened. As soon as new swarms left the country, the means of subsistence were more ample for the residue; the vigour of population soon supplied the deficiency; and then another swarm went forth and relieved again the national *hive*. Our purchase and deportation of slaves would produce a similar effect on our blacks, but it would be entirely at the expense of both the numbers and wealth of the whites, and would be therefore one of the most blighting curses that could scathe the land. Ireland, at present, is suffering heavy afflictions from an over-crowded population; but her government could not relieve her by sending off the paupers, and for the simple reason that it would require an expense on the part of Ireland which would produce as great or even greater abstraction of capital than of unproductive mouths, and would moreover give more vigour to the spring of population. If other nations would incur the expense for her, then perhaps there might be for her a temporary benefit; but in a short time such a stimulus would be given to population, as would counteract all the vain efforts of man, and in the end, leave her in a worse condition than before. We doubt whether England, France, and Germany, by a steady concentration of all their financial resources upon the deportation and comfortable settlement and support of the superabundant population of Ireland, would, at the expiration of fifty years, be found to have lessened the numbers by one single individual. The effect would merely be, to pledge the resources of these three nations to the support of the Irish population, and to substitute the procreation of Irishmen, for that of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, and as soon as this support was withdrawn, the very habits which had been generated by it in Ireland, would be its greatest curse. The only effectual means of relieving Ireland, will be to raise the *standard of comfort* in that country, and to arrest the population by the preventive checks which would lessen the marriages. Until this be done in some way or other, Ireland is doomed to suffer the heavy penalty.

We are now prepared to explain how it is that so many negroes have been exported from Africa by the slave trade, while the gap, says Franklin, is almost imperceptible. Gen. Broadnax, in his speech, computes the average number now annually sent out from Africa by the operation of the slave trade, to be 100,000; and, he adds, if all this can be effected against so many risks and hazards, and in violation of the laws of God and man, shall it be said that the whole state of Virginia cannot export 6000 to Africa in a year? Yes, strange as it may seem, this is all true;

and the simple reason of the great difference is, that Africa incurs no expense, but on the contrary, generally receives a full equivalent for the deported slave, which augments her means of subsistence, and stimulates the spring of population. Saddle Africa with the whole of this burthen, and we are perfectly sure that the entire resources of that immense continent would not suffice to purchase up, send off, and colonize 5000 per annum. There is the same difference between this exportation from Africa, and that proposed by the abolitionists from Virginia, that there is between the agriculturist who sends his produce to a foreign state or country and receives back a full equivalent, and him who is condemned to send his abroad at his own expense, and to distribute it gratuitously. We imagine that no one who was acquainted with the condition of these two farmers would wonder that one should grow wealthy, and the other miserably poor. The 6000 slaves which Virginia annually sends off to the South are a source of wealth to Virginia; but the 1000 or 2000 whites who probably go to the West are a source of poverty; because in the former case we have an equivalent left in the place of the exported slave—in the latter we lose both labour and capital without an equivalent; and precisely such a result in a much more aggravated form, will spring from this mad colonization scheme, should it ever be carried into operation. If the governments of Europe were silly enough to appropriate their resources to the purchase of our slaves, at their full marketable value, for the purpose of deportation, they should, for ought that we could do, have every one that they could buy. An equivalent would thus be left for the deported slave, and however much others might suffer for their folly, we should escape.*

Against most of the great difficulties attendant on the plan of emancipation above examined, it was impossible for the abolitionists entirely to close their eyes; and it is really curious to pause a moment and examine some of the reflections and schemes by which Virginia was to be reconciled to the plan. We have been told that it would not be necessary to purchase all the slaves sent away—that many would be surrendered by their owners without an equivalent. “There are a number of slave-holders,” (said one who has all the lofty feeling and devoted patriotism which have hitherto so proudly characterized Virginia,) “at this very time, I do not speak from vain conjecture, but from what I know from the best information, and this number would con-

* Perhaps one of the greatest blessings (if it could be reconciled to our consciences) which could be conferred on the southern portion of the Union, would arise from the total abolition of the African slave trade, and the opening the West Indian and South American markets to our slaves. We do not believe that deportation to any other quarter, or in any other way, can ever effect the slightest diminution.

tinue to increase, who would voluntarily surrender their slaves, if the state would provide the means of colonizing them elsewhere. And there would be again another class, I have already heard of many, while they could not afford to sacrifice the entire value of their slaves, would cheerfully compromise with the state for half of their value." In the first place, we would remark that the gentleman's anticipation would certainly prove delusive—the surrender of a very few slaves would enhance the importance and value of the residue, and make the owner much more reluctant to part with them. Let any farmer in Lower Virginia ask himself how many he can spare from his plantation—and he will be surprised to see how few can be dispensed with. If that intelligent gentleman, from the storehouse of his knowledge, would but call up the history of the past, he would see that *mere philanthropy*, with all her splendid boastings, has never yet accomplished one great scheme; he would find the remark of that great judge of human nature, the illustrious author of the *Wealth of Nations*, that no people had the generosity to liberate their slaves until it became their interest to do so, but too true; and the philosophic page of Hume, Robertson, Stuart, and Sismondi, would inform him that the serfs of Europe have been only gradually emancipated through the operation of *self interest* and not *philanthropy*: and we shall soon see that it was fortunate for both parties that this was the cause.

But it is strange indeed that gentlemen have never reflected, that the pecuniary loss to the state, will be precisely the same, whether the negroes be purchased or gratuitously surrendered. In the latter case the burthen is only shifted from the whole state to that portion where the surrender is made—thus if we own \$10,000 worth of this property, and surrender the whole to government, it is evident that we lose the amount of \$10,000; and if the whole of Lower Virginia could at once be induced to give up all of this property, and it could be sent away, the only effect of this generosity and self devotion would be to inflict the *blow of desolation* more exclusively on this portion of the state—the aggregate loss would be the same, the burthen would only be shifted from the whole to a part—the West would dodge the blow, and perhaps every candid citizen of Lower Virginia would confess that he is devoid of that refined incomprehensible patriotism which would call for self immolation on the shrine of folly, and would most conscientiously advise the eastern Virginians never to surrender their slaves to the government without a fair equivalent. Can it be genuine philanthropy to persuade *them alone* to step forward and bear the whole burthen?

Again; some have attempted to evade the difficulties by seizing on the increase of the negroes after a certain time. Thus Mr. Randolph's plan proposed that all born after the year 1840,

should be raised by their masters to the age of eighteen for the female and twenty-one for the male, and then hired out, until the neat sum arising therefrom amounted to enough to send them away. Scarcely any one in the legislature—we believe not even the author himself—entirely approved of this plan.* It is obnoxious to the objections we have just been stating against voluntary surrender. It proposes to saddle the slave-holder with the whole burthen ; it infringes directly the rights of property ; it converts the fee simple possession of this kind of property into an estate for years ; and it only puts off the great sacrifice required of the state to 1840, when most of the evils will occur that have already been described. In the mean time it destroys the value of slaves, and with it all landed possessions—checks the productions of the state, imposes (when 1840 arrives) upon the master the intolerable and grievous burthen of raising his young slaves to the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, and then liberating them to be hired out under the superintendence of government (the most miserable of all managers,) until the proceeds arising therefrom shall be sufficient to send them away. If any man at all conversant with political economy should ever anticipate the day when this shall happen, we can only say that his faith is great indeed, enough to remove mountains, and that he has studied in a totally different school from ourselves.

Again ; we entirely agree with the assertion of Mr. Brown, one of the ablest and most promising of Virginia's sons, that the ingenuity of man, if exerted for the purpose, could not devise a more efficient mode of producing discontent among our slaves, and thus endangering the peace of the community. There are born annually of this population about 20,000 children. Those which are born before the year 1840 are to be slaves ; those which are born after that period are to be free at a certain age. These two classes will be reared together ; they will labour together, and commune together. It cannot escape the observation of him who is doomed to servitude, that although of the same colour and born of the same parents, a far different destiny awaits his more fortunate brother—as his thoughts again and again revert to the subject, he begins to regard himself as the victim of injustice. Cheerfulness and contentment will flee from his bosom, and the most harmless and happy creature that lives on earth, will be transformed into a dark designing and desperate rebel. (*Brown's Speech*, pp. 8 and 9.)

There are some again who exhaust their ingenuity in devising schemes for taking off the breeding portion of the slaves to Afri-

* The difficulty of falling upon any definite plan which can for a moment command the approbation of even a few of the most intelligent abolitionists, is an unerring symptom of the difficulty and impracticability of the whole.

ca, or carrying away the sexes in such disproportions as will in a measure prevent those left behind from breeding. All of these plans merit nothing more than the appellation of *vain juggling legislative conceits*, unworthy of a wise statesman and a moral man. If our slaves are ever to be sent away in any systematic manner, *humanity* demands that they should be carried in families. The voice of the world would condemn Virginia if she sanctioned any plan of deportation by which the male and female, husband and wife, parent and child, were systematically and relentlessly separated. If we are to indulge in this kind of regulating vice, why not cure the ill at once, by following the counsel of Xenophon in his *Economics*, and the practice of Old Cato the Censor? Let us keep the male and female separate* in *Ergastula*, or dungeons, if it be necessary, and then one generation will pass away, and the evil will be removed to the heart's content of our humane philanthropists! But all these puerile conceits fall far short of surmounting the great difficulty which, like Memnon, is eternally present and cannot be removed.

“Sedet eternumque sedebit.”

There is \$100,000,000 of slave property in the state of Virginia, and it matters but little how you destroy it, whether by the slow process of the cautious *practitioner*, or with the frightful despatch of the self confident *quack*; when it is gone, no matter how, the deed will be done, and Virginia will be a desert.

We shall now proceed to examine briefly the most dangerous of all the wild doctrines advanced by the abolitionists in the Virginia legislature, and the one which, no doubt, will be finally acted upon, if ever this business of emancipation shall be seriously commenced. *It was contended that property is the creature of civil society, and is subject to its action even to destruction.* But lest we may misrepresent, we will give the language of the gentleman who first boldly and exultingly announced it. “My views are briefly these,” said Mr. Faulkner; “they go to the foundation upon which the social edifice rests—property is the creature of civil society.—So long as that property is not dangerous to the good order of society, it may and will be tolerated. But, sir, so soon as it is ascertained to jeopardize the peace, the happiness, the good order, nay the very existence of society, from that moment the right by which they hold their property is gone, society ceases to give its consent, the condition upon which they are permitted to hold it is violated, their right ceases.—Why, sir, it is ever a rule of municipal law, and we use this merely as an illustration of the great principles of society, *sic utere tuo ut alienum non lædas*. So hold your property as not

* See Hume's Essay on the populousness of Ancient Nations, where he ascribes this practice to Cato and others, to prevent their slaves from breeding.

to injure the property, still less the lives and happiness of your neighbours. And the moment, even in the best regulated communities, there is in practice a departure from this principle, you may abate the nuisance. It may cause loss, but it is what our black letter gentlemen term *Damnum absque injuria*, a loss for which the law affords no remedy." Now for the application of these principles: "Sir, to contend that *full value* shall be paid for the slaves by the commonwealth, now or at any future period of their emancipation, is to deny all right of action upon this subject whatsoever. It is not within the financial ability of the state to purchase them. We have not the means—the utmost extremity of taxation would fall far short of an adequate treasury. What then shall be done? we must endeavour to ascertain some middle ground of compromise between the rights of the community and the rights of individuals, some scheme which, while it responds to the demands of the people for the extermination of the alarming evil, will not in its operation disconcert the settled institutions of society, or involve the slave holder in pecuniary ruin and embarrassment." (*Faulkner's Speech*, pp. 14, 15, and 16.)

To these doctrines we call the serious attention of the whole slave-holding population of our Union, for all alike are concerned. It is time indeed for Achilles to rise from his inglorious repose and buckle on his armour, when the enemy are about to set fire to the fleet. This doctrine, absurd as it may seem in the practical application made by the speaker, will be sure to become the most popular with those abolitionists in Virginia, who have no slave property to sacrifice. It is the remark of Hobbes, that men might easily be brought to deny that "things equal to the same are equal to each other," if their fancied interests were opposed in any way to the admission of this axiom. We find that the highly obnoxious doctrine just spoken of, was not entertained by the gentleman from Berkeley alone, but was urged to an equally offensive extent by Mr. M'Dowell, who is supposed by his friends to have made the most able and eloquent speech in favour of abolition. He says, "when it (property) loses its utility, when it no longer contributes to the personal benefits and wants of its holders in any equal degree with the expense or the risk or the danger of keeping it, much more when it jeopard the security of the public;—when this is the case, then the original purpose for which it is authorized is lost, its character of property in the just and beneficial sense of it is gone, and it may be regulated without private injustice, in any manner which the general good of the community, by whose laws it was licensed, may require." (*M'Dowell's Speech*, see *Richmond Whig*, 24th March 1832.) It is thus, if we may borrow the justly indignant language of Mr. Goode's eloquent and forcible speech,

that "slave property has been compared to a nuisance which the commonwealth may abate at pleasure. A nation of souls to be abated by the mere effort of the will of the general assembly. A nation of free men to hold their property by the precarious tenure of the precarious will of the general assembly!! and to reconcile us to our condition, we are assured by the gentleman from Berkeley, that the general assembly, in the abundance of its liberality, is ready to enter into a compromise, by which we shall be permitted to hold *our own* property *twenty-eight years!* on condition that we then surrender it absolutely and unconditionally.—Sir, I cannot but admire the frankness with which these gentlemen have treated this subject. They have exhibited themselves in the fulness of their intentions; given us warning of their designs; and we now see in all its nakedness the vanity of all hope of compensation." (*Goode's Speech*, p. 29.)

The doctrine of these gentlemen, so far from being true in its application, is not true in theory. The great object of government is the protection of property :—from the days of the patriarchs down to the present time, the great desideratum has been to find out the most efficient mode of protecting property. There is not a government at this moment in Christendom, whose peculiar practical character is not the result of the state of property.

No government can exist which does not conform to the state of property ;—it cannot make the latter conform entirely to the government ;—an attempt to do it would and ought to revolutionize any state. The great difficulty in forming the government of any country arises almost universally from the state of property, and the necessity of making it conform to that state ; and it was the state of property in Virginia which really constituted the whole difficulty in the late convention. There is a right which these gentlemen seem likewise to have had in their minds, which writers on the law of nations call the right of *eminent* or *transcendental domain* ; that right by which, in an exigency, the government or its agents may seize on persons or property, to be used for the general weal. Now, upon this there are two suggestions which at once present themselves.—First, that this right only occurs in cases of real exigency ;* and secondly, that the writers of our national law—and the Constitution of the United States expressly sanctions the principle—say, that no property can be thus taken without full and fair compensation.†

These gentlemen, we hope to prove conclusively before finish-

* It is, then, the right of necessity, and may be defined that right *which authorizes the performance of an act absolutely necessary for the discharge of an indisputable duty*. But private property must always be paid for.

† The Congress of the United States, in the case of *Marigny d'Auterive*, placed slave property upon precisely the same footing, in this respect, with all other kinds.

ing, have failed to show the *exigency*; and even if they have proved that, they deny the right of compensation, and upon what principle? why, that the whole state is not competent to afford it, and may therefore justly *abate* the *nuisance*. And is it possible that a burthen, in this Christian land, is most unfeelingly and remorselessly to be imposed upon a portion of the state, which, by the very confession of the gentlemen who urge it, could not be borne by the whole without inevitable ruin? But it was the main object of their speeches to show, that slave property is valueless, that it is a burthen, a *nuisance* to the owner; and they seemed most anxious to enlighten the poor ignorant farmers on this point, who hold on with such pertinacity to this kind of property, which is inflicting its bitterest sting upon them. Now, is it not enough for the slave-holder to reply, that the circumstance of the slave bearing the price of two hundred dollars in the market, is an evidence of his value with every one acquainted with the elements of political economy; that, generally speaking, the market value of the slave is even less than his real value; for no one would like to own and manage slaves unless equally or more profitable than other kinds of investments in the same community; and if this or that owner may be pointed out as ruined by this species of property, might we not point to merchants, mechanics, lawyers, doctors, and divines, all of whom have been ruined by their several pursuits; and must all these employments be abated as *nuisances*, to satisfy the crude, undigested theories of tampering legislators? "It is remarkable," we quote the language of him who shone forth one of the brightest stars in the late constellation of talent assembled in the Virginia Convention, "that this 'nuisance' is more offensive in a direct ratio to its distance from the complaining party, and in an inverse ratio to the quantity of offending matter in his neighbourhood; that a 'magazine of gunpowder' in the town of Norfolk is a 'nuisance' to the county of Berkeley, and to all the people of the west! The people of the west, in which there are comparatively few slaves, in which there never can be any great increase of that kind of property, because their agriculture does not require it, and because in a great part of their country the negro race cannot be acclimated—the people of the west find our slave property in *our planting country*, where it is valuable, a 'nuisance' to *them*. This reverses the proverb, that men bear the ills of others better than their own. I have known men sell all their slave property and vest the proceeds in the stocks, and become zealous for the abolition of slavery. And it would be a matter of curiosity to ascertain (if it could be done) the aggregate number of slaves, held by all the orators and all the printers who are so willing to abate the nuisance of slave property held by other people. I sus-

pect the census would be very short.”—*Letters of Appomattox to the People of Virginia.*

The fact is, it is always a most delicate and dangerous task for one set of people to legislate for another, without any community of interests. It is sure to destroy the great principle of responsibility, and in the end to lay the weaker interest at the mercy of the stronger. It subverts the very end for which all governments are established, and becomes intolerable, and consequently against the fundamental rights of man, whether prohibited by the constitution or not.

If a convention of the whole state of Virginia were called, and in due form the right of slave property were abolished by the votes of Western Virginia alone, does any one think that Eastern Virginia would be bound to yield to the decree? Certainly not. The strong and unjust man in a state of nature robs the weaker, and you establish government to prevent this oppression. Now, only sanction the doctrine of the Virginia orators, let one interest in the government (the west) rob another at pleasure (the east), and is there any man who can fail to see that government is systematically producing that very oppression which it is intended to remedy, and for which alone it is established? In forming the late Constitution of Virginia, the East objected to the “white basis principle,” upon the very grounds that it would enable Western to oppress Eastern Virginia, through the medium of slave property. The most solemn asseverations of a total unwillingness, on the part of the West, to meddle with or touch the slave population, beyond the rightful and equitable demands of revenue, were repeatedly made by their orators. And now, what has the lapse of two short years developed? Why, that the West, unmindful of former professions, and regardless of the eternal principles of justice, is urging on an invasion and final abolition of that kind of property which it was solemnly pledged to protect! Is it possible that gentlemen can have reflected upon the consequences which even the avowal of such doctrines is calculated to produce? Are they conciliatory? Can they be taken kindly by the East? Is it not degrading for freemen to stand quailing with the fear of losing that property which they have been accumulating for ages—to stand waiting in fearful anxiety for the capricious edict of the West, which may say to one man, “sir, you must give up your property, although you have amassed it under the guarantee of the laws and constitutions of your state and of the United States;” and to another, who is near him and has an equal amount of property of a different description, and has no more virtue and no more conscience than the slave-holder, “you may hold yours, because we do not yet consider it a ‘nuisance’?” This is language which cannot fail to awaken the people to a sense of their

danger. These doctrines, whenever announced in debate, have a tendency to disorganize and unhinge the condition of society, and to produce uncertainty and alarm;* to create revulsions of capital; to cause the land of Old Virginia, and real source of wealth, to be abandoned; and her white wealthy population to flee the state, and seek an asylum in a land where they will be protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry. In fine, we would say, these doctrines are "nuisances," and if we were disposed to retaliate, would add that they ought to be "abated." We will close our remarks on this dangerous doctrine, by calling upon Western Virginia and the non-slave-holders of Eastern Virginia, not to be allured by this syren song. It is as delusive as it may appear fascinating; all the sources of wealth and departments of industry, all the great interests of society, are really interwoven with one another—they form an indissoluble chain; a blow at any part quickly vibrates through the whole length—the destruction of one interest involves another. Destroy agriculture, destroy tillage, and the ruin of the farmer will draw down ruin upon the mechanic, the merchant, the sailor, and the manufacturer—they must all escape together from the land of desolation.

We hope we have now satisfactorily proved the impracticability of sending off the whole of our slave population, or even the annual increase; and we think we have been enabled to do this by pointing out only one half of the difficulties which attend the scheme. We have so far confined our attention to the expense and difficulty of purchasing the slaves, and sending them across the ocean. We have now to look a little to the recipient or territory to which the blacks are to be sent; and if we know any thing of the history and nature of colonization, we shall be completely upheld in the assertion, that the difficulties on this score are just as great and insurmountable as those which we have shown to be attendant on the purchase and deportation. We shall be enabled to prove, if we may use the expression, *a double impracticability* attendant on all these schemes.

The impossibility of colonizing the blacks.

The whole subject of colonization is much more difficult and intricate than is generally imagined, and the difficulties are often very different from what would, on slight reflection, be anticipated. They are of three kinds, physical, moral, and national. The former embraces unhealthy climate or want of proper seasoning, a

* We look upon these doctrines as calculated to produce precisely the same results as are produced by the government of Turkey, which, by rendering property insecure, has been able to arrest, and permanently to repress, the prosperity of the fairest and most fertile portions of the globe.

difficulty of procuring subsistence and the conveniences of life, ignorance of the adaptations and character of the soils, want of habitations, and the necessity of living together in multitudes for the purposes of defence, whilst purposes of agriculture require that they should live as dispersed as possible. The moral difficulties arise from a want of adaptation on the part of the new colonists to their new situation, want of conformity in habits, manners, tempers, and dispositions, producing a heterogeneous mass of population, uncemented and unharmonizing. Lastly, the difficulties of a national character embrace all the causes of altercation and rupture between the colonists and neighbouring tribes or nations; all these dangers, difficulties, and hardships, are much greater than generally believed. Every new colony requires the most constant attention, the most cautious and judicious management in both the number and character of the emigrants, a liberal supply of both capital and provisions, together with a most watchful and paternal government on the part of the mother country, which may defend it against the incursions and depredations of warlike or savage neighbours. Hence the very slow progress made by all colonies in their first settlement.

The history of colonization is well calculated of itself to dissipate all the splendid visions which our chimerical philanthropists have indulged, in regard to its efficiency in draining off a redundant or noxious population. The rage for emigration to the New World, discovered by Columbus, was at first very considerable; the brilliant prospects which were presented to the view of the Spaniards, of realizing fortunes in the abundant mines and on the rich soils of the islands and the continent, enticed many at first to leave their homes in search of wealth, happiness, and distinction—and what was the consequence? “The numerous hardships with which the members of infant colonies have to struggle,” says Robertson, “the diseases of unwholesome climates, fatal to the constitutions of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country covered with forests into culture; the want of hands necessary for labour in some provinces, and the slow reward of industry in all, unless where the accidental discovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils immensely felt and magnified. Discouraged by the view of these, the spirit of migration was so much damped, that sixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded 15,000!”* Even these few were settled at an expense of life both to the emigrants and the natives, which is really shocking to the feelings of humanity; and we cannot peruse the accounts of the conquests of Mexico and Peru, without feeling that the

* Robertson's *America*, Vol. ii. p. 151.

race destroyed was equal, in moral worth at least, to their destroyers.

In the settlement of Virginia, begun by Sir Walter Raleigh, and established by Lord Delaware, three attempts completely failed; nearly half of the first colony was destroyed by the savages, and the rest, consumed and worn down by fatigue and famine, deserted the country and returned home in despair. The second colony was cut off to a man in a manner unknown; but they were supposed to have been destroyed by the Indians. The third experienced the same dismal fate; and the remains of the fourth, after it had been reduced by famine and disease, in the course of six months, from five hundred to sixty persons, were returning in a famished and desperate condition to England, when they were met in the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay by Lord Delaware, with a squadron loaded with provisions, and every thing for their relief and defence.* The first puritan settlers, in like manner, suffered "woes unnumbered,"—nearly half perished by want, scurvy, and the severity of the climate.

The attempts to settle New-Holland, have presented a melancholy and affecting picture of the extreme hardships which infant colonies have to struggle with before the produce is even equal to the support of the colonists. The establishment of colonies, too, in the eastern part of the Russian dominions, has been attended with precisely the same difficulties and hardships.

After this very brief general review of the history of modern colonization, we will now proceed to examine into the prospects of colonizing our blacks on the coast of Africa, in such numbers as to lessen those left behind. And in the first place we would remark, that almost all countries, especially those in southern and tropical latitudes, are extremely unfavourable to life when first cleared and cultivated. Almost the whole territory of the United States and South America, offer a conclusive illustration of this fact. We are daily witnessing, in the progress of tillage in our country, the visitation of diseases of the most destructive kind, over regions hitherto entirely exempt; our bilious fevers, for example, seem to travel in great measure with the progress of opening, clearing, and draining of the country. Now, when we turn our attention to Africa, on which continent all agree that we must colonize, if at all, we find almost the whole continent possessing an insalubrious climate under the most favourable circumstances; and, consequently, we may expect this evil will be enhanced during the incipient stages of society, at any given point, while the progress of clearing, draining, and tilling is going forward. All the travellers through Africa agree in their de-

* Malthus on Population, given upon the authority of both Burke's and Robertson's America.

scriptions of the general insalubrity of the climate. Park and Buffon agree in stating, that longevity is very rare among the negroes. At forty they are described as wrinkled and gray haired, and few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty; a Shungalla woman, says Bruce, at twenty-two, is more wrinkled and deformed by age, than a European at sixty; this short duration of life is attributable to the climate, for in looking over the returns of the census in our country, we find a much larger proportional number of cases of longevity among the blacks than the whites. "If accurate registers of mortality," says Malthus, (and no one was more indefatigable in his researches, or more capable of drawing accurate conclusions) "were kept among these nations (African), I have little doubt, that including the mortality from wars, one in seventeen or eighteen, at least, dies annually, instead of one in thirty-four or thirty-six, as in the generality of European states."* The sea coast is described as being generally much more unhealthy than the interior. "Perhaps it is on this account chiefly," says Park, "that the interior countries abound more with inhabitants than the maritime districts."† The deleterious effects of African climate, are of course much greater upon those accustomed to different latitudes and not yet acclimated. It is melancholy, indeed, to peruse the dreadful hardships and unexampled mortality attendant upon those companies which have from time to time, actuated by the most praiseworthy views, penetrated into the interior of Africa.

It is difficult to say, which has presented most obstacles to the inquisitive traveller, the suspicion and barbarity of the natives, or the dreadful insalubrity of the climate. Now, it is to this continent, the original home of our blacks, to this destructive climate we propose to send the slave of our country, after the lapse of ages has completely inured him to our colder and more salubrious continent. It is true, that a territory has already been secured for the Colonization Society of this country, which is said to enjoy an unusually healthful climate. Granting that this may be the case, still when we come to examine into the capacity of the purchased territory for the reception of emigrants, we find that it only amounts to about 10,000 square miles, not a seventh of the superficies of Virginia. When other sites are fixed upon, we may not, and cannot expect to be so fortunate;—are not the most healthy districts in Africa the most populous, according to Park and all travellers? Will not these comparatively powerful nations, in all probability relinquish their territory with great reluctance? Will not our lot be consequently cast on barren sands or amid pestilential atmospheres, and then what exaggerated

* See Malthus on Population, Book I. l. 8.

† See Park's Travels in Africa. p. 193. New-York Edition.

tales and false statements must be made if we would reconcile the poor blacks to a change of country pregnant with their fate?

But we believe that the very laudable zeal of many conscientious philanthropists has excited an overweening desire to make our colony in Liberia, in every point of view, appear greatly superior to what it is. We know the disposition of all travellers to exaggerate; we know the benevolent feelings of the human heart, which prompt us to gratify and minister to the desires and sympathies of those around us, and we know that philanthropic schemes, emancipation, and colonization societies, now occupy the public mind, and receive the largest share of public applause. Under these circumstances, we are not to wonder if colouring should sometimes impair the statements of those who have visited the colony; for ourselves, we may be too sceptical, but are rather disposed to judge from facts which are acknowledged by all, than from general statements from officers and interested agents. In 1819, two agents were sent to Africa to survey the coast and make a selection of a suitable situation for a colony. In their passage home in 1820, one died. In the same year, 1820, the *Elizabeth* was chartered and sent out with three agents and eighty emigrants. All three of the agents and twenty of the emigrants died, a proportional mortality greater than in the *middle passage*, which has so justly shocked the humane feelings of mankind, and much greater than that occasioned by that dreadful plague (the Cholera) which is now clothing our land in mourning, and causing our citizens to flee in every direction to avoid impending destruction. In the spring of 1821, four new agents were sent out, of whom one returned sick, one died in August, one in September, and we know not what became of the fourth.* It is agreed on all hands, that there is a seasoning necessary, and a formidable fever to be encountered, before the colonists can enjoy tolerable health. Mr. Ashmun, who afterwards fell a victim to the climate, insisted that the night air of Liberia was free from all noxious effects; and yet we find that the emigrants, carried by the *Volador* to Liberia a year or two since, are said to have fared well, losing only two, in consequence of every precaution having been taken against the night air, while the most dreadful mortality destroyed those of the *Carolinian*, which went out nearly contemporaneously with the *Volador*. The letter of Mr. Reynolds marked G, at the conclusion of the Fifteenth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, instructs us in the proper method of preserving health on the coast of Africa, and in spite of the flattering accounts and assurances of agents

* These facts we have stated upon the authority of Mr. Carey, of Philadelphia, who has given us an interesting, but I fear too flattering account of the Colony, in a series of letters addressed to the Hon. Charles F. Mercer.

and philanthropists, we should be disposed to take warning from these salutary hints. The following are some of them ;—

“ 1st. On no account to suffer any of the crew to be out of the ship *at* sunset.

“ 2d. To have a sail stretched on the windward *side* of the vessel ; and an awning was also provided, which extended over the poop and the whole main deck, *to defend the crew from the night air.*

“ 3d. The night watch was encouraged to smoke tobacco.

“ 4th. To distribute French brandy to the crew whilst in port, in lieu of rum. (The editor of the Report recommends strong coffee.) The crew on rising were served with a liberal allowance of strong coffee before commencing their day’s work.

“ The result was that the ships on each side of the Cambridge lost the *greater* part of their crews ; and not one man of her crew was seriously unwell.” (*Fifteenth Annual Report*, p. 51, published in *Georgetown*, 1832.)

We have said enough to show that the Continent of Africa, and its coasts particularly, are extremely unhealthy—that the natives themselves are not long lived—and that unacclimated foreigners are in most imminent danger. That there may be some healthy points on the sea shore, and salubrious districts in the interior, and that Liberia may be fortunately one of them, we are even willing to admit—but then we know that generally the most insalubrious portions will fall into our possession, because those of an opposite character are already too densely populated to be deserted by the natives—and consequently, let us view the subject as we please, we shall have this mighty evil of unhealthy climate to overcome. We have seen already, in the past history of our colony, that the slightest blunder, in landing on an unhealthy coast, in exposure to a deadly night air, or in neglecting the necessary precautions during the period of acclimating, has proved most frightfully fatal to both blacks and whites. Suppose now, that instead of the one or two hundred sent by the Colonization Society, Virginia should actually send out six thousand—or if we extend our views to the whole United States, that sixty thousand should be annually exported, accompanied of course by some hundreds of whites, what an awful fatality might we not occasionally expect? The chance for blundering would be infinitely increased, and if some ships might fortunately distribute their cargoes with the loss of few lives, others again might lose all their whites and a fourth or more of the blacks, as we know has already happened ; and although this fatality might arise from blunder or accident, yet would it strike the imagination of men—and that which may be kept comparatively concealed now, would, when the number of emigrants swelled to such multitudes, produce alarm and consternation. We look forward con-

fidently to the day, if this wild scheme should be persevered in for a few years, when the poor African slave, on bended knees, might implore a remission of that fatal sentence which would send him to the land of his forefathers.

But the fact is, that all climates will prove fatal to emigrants who come out in too great crowds, whether they are naturally unhealthy or not. One of the greatest attempts at colonization in modern times, was the effort of the French to plant at once 12,000 emigrants on the coast of Guiana. The consequence was, that in a very short time 10,000 of them lost their lives in all the horrors of despair, 2,000 returned to France, the scheme failed, and 25,000,000 of francs, says Raynal, were totally lost. Seventy-five thousand Christians, says Mr. Eaton in his account of the Turkish empire, were expelled by Russia from the Crimea, and forced to inhabit the country deserted by the Nogai Tartars, and in a few years only 7000 of them remained. In like manner, if 6000, or much more, if 60,000 negroes, with their careless and filthy habits, were annually sent to Africa, we could not calculate, for the first one or two years, upon less than the death of one-half or perhaps three-fourths; and, repugnant as the assertion may be to the feelings of benevolence, we have no hesitation in saying, that nothing but a most unparalleled mortality among the emigrants, would enable us to support the colony for even a year or two. Aristotle was of opinion, that the keeping of 5000 soldiers in idleness would ruin an empire. If the brilliant anticipations of our colonization friends shall be realized, and the day actually arrives, when 60,000, or even 6000 blacks can be annually landed in health upon the coast of Africa, then will the United States, or broken down Virginia, be obliged to support an *empire* in idleness. "The first establishment of a new colony," says Malthus, "generally presents an instance of a country peopled considerably beyond its actual produce; and the natural consequence seems to be, that this population, if not annually supplied by the mother country, should, at the commencement, be diminished to the level of the first scanty productions, and not begin permanently to increase till the remaining numbers had so far cultivated the soil as to make it yield a quantity of food more than sufficient for their own support, and which consequently they could divide with a family. The frequent failures of new colonies tend strongly to show the order of precedence between food and population."* It is for this reason that colonies so slowly advance at first, and it becomes necessary to *feed* them (if we may so express ourselves) with extreme caution, and with limited numbers, in the beginning. But a few additional months will render support from the mother

* Malthus on Population, vol. ii. pp. 140, 141.

country necessary. If this state of things continues for a short time, you make the colony a great *pauper* establishment, and generate all those habits of idleness and worthlessness which will ever characterize a people dependent on the bounty of others for their subsistence. If Virginia should send out 6000 emigrants to Africa, and much more, if the United States should send 60,000, the whole colony would inevitably perish, if the wealth of the mother country was not exhausted for their supply. Suppose a member in Congress should propose to send out an army of 60,000 troops, and maintain them on the coast of Africa; would not every sensible man see at once that the thing would be impracticable, if even the existence of our country depended upon it?—it would ruin the greatest empire on the globe—and yet, strange to tell, the philanthropists of Virginia are seriously urging her to attempt that which would every year impose upon her a burthen proportionally greater than all this!

If any man will for a moment revert to the history of Liberia, which has been as flourishing or even more flourishing than similar colonies, there will be seen at once enough to convince the most sceptical of the truth of this assertion. What says Mr. Ashmun, perhaps the most intelligent and most judicious of colonial agents?—"If rice grew spontaneously," said he, "and covered the country, yet it is possible by sending few or none able to reap and clean it, to starve 10,000 helpless children and infirm old people in the midst of plenty. Rice does not grow spontaneously however; nor can any thing necessary for the subsistence of the human species, be procured here without the sweat of the brow. Clothing, tools, and building materials are much dearer here than in America. But send out your emigrants, labouring men and their families only, or laborious men and their families, accompanied only with their natural proportion of inefficients; and *with the ordinary blessings of God*, you may depend on their causing you a *light expense* in Liberia," &c. Again, "If such persons (those who cannot work,) are to be *supported* by American funds, *why not keep them in America*, where they can do something, by picking cotton and stemming tobacco, towards supporting themselves. I know that nothing is effectually done in colonizing this country, till the colony's own resources can sustain *its own*, and a *considerable annual increase of population*." Here then are statements from one most zealous and enthusiastic in the cause of colonization, one who has sacrificed his life in the business, which clearly show that the Colonization Society, with its very limited means, has over-supplied the colony with emigrants. What then might not be expected from the tremendous action of the state and general governments on this subject? they would raise up a pauper establishment, which we conscientiously believe, would require

the disposable wealth of the rest of the world to support, and the thousands of emigrants who would be sent, so far from being *laborious men*, would be the most idle and worthless of a race, who only desire liberty because they regard it as an exemption from labour and toil. Every man, too, at all conversant with the subject, knows that such alone are the slaves which a kind master will ever consent to sell, to be carried to a distant land. Sixty thousand emigrants per annum to the United States, would even now sink the wages of labour, and embarrass the whole of our industrious classes, although we have at this moment lands, capable of supporting millions more when gradually added to our population.

The Irish emigrants to Great Britain, have already begun to produce disastrous effects. "I am firmly persuaded," says Mr. M'Culloch, "that nothing so deeply injurious to the character and habits of our people, has ever occurred, as the late extraordinary influx of Irish labourers.—If another bias be not given to the current of emigration, Great Britain will necessarily continue to be the grand outlet for the pauper population of Ireland, nor will the tide of beggary and degradation cease to flow, until the plague of poverty has spread its ravages over both divisions of the empire."* Where, then, in the wide world, can we find a *fulcrum* upon which to place our mighty lever of colonization? nowhere! we repeat it, *nowhere!* unless we condemn emigrants to absolute starvation. Sir Josiah Childe, who lived in an age of comparative ignorance, could well have instructed our modern philanthropists in the true principles of colonization. "*Such as our employment is,*" says he, "*so will our people be;* and if we should imagine we have in England employment but for one hundred people, and we have born and bred (or he might have added brought) amongst us one hundred and fifty—fifty must away from us, or starve, or be hanged to prevent it."† And so say we in regard to our colonization—if our new colony cannot absorb readily more than one or two hundred per annum, and we send them 6000 or 60,000, the surplus "must either flee away or starve or be hanged," or be fed by the mother country, (which is impossible.)

So far we have been attending principally to the difficulties of procuring subsistence; but the habits and moral character of our slaves present others of equal importance and magnitude. Doctor Franklin says that one of the reasons why we see so many fruitless attempts to settle colonies at an immense public and private expense by several of the powers of Europe, is that the

* M'Culloch's Edition of the Wealth of Nations, 4th Vol. pp. 154 and 155. Edinburgh Edition.

† Sir Josiah Childe's Discourse on Trade.

moral and mechanical habits adapted to the mother country, are frequently not so to the new settled one, and to external events, many of which are unforeseen, and that it is to be remarked that none of the English colonies became any way considerable, till the necessary manners were born and grew up in the country. Now, with what peculiar and overwhelming force does this remark apply to our colonization of liberated blacks? We are to send out thousands of these, taken from a state of slavery and ignorance, unaccustomed to guide and direct themselves, void of all the attributes of free agents, with dangerous notions of liberty and idleness, to elevate them at once to the condition of freemen, and invest them with the power of governing an empire, which will require more wisdom, more prudence, and at the same time more firmness than ever government required before. We are enabled to support our position by a quotation from an eloquent supporter of the American colonization scheme. "Indeed," said the Rev. Mr. Bacon, at the last meeting of the American Colonization Society, "it is something auspicious, that in the earlier stages of our undertaking, there has not been a general rush of emigration to the colony. In *any single year* since Cape Montserado was purchased, the influx of *a thousand emigrants* might have been fatal to our enterprise.—The new comers into any community must always be a *minority*, else every arrival is a *revolution*; they must be a *decided minority*, easily absorbed into the system and mingled with the mass, else the community is constantly liable to convulsion. Let 10,000 *foreigners, rude and ignorant*, be landed at once in this District (of Columbia,) and what would be the result? Why you must have an armed force here to keep the peace;—so *one thousand* now landing *at once* in our colony, might be its ruin."*

The fact is, the *true* and *enlightened* friends of colonization, must reprobate all those chimerical schemes proposing to deport any thing like the increase of one state, and more particularly of the whole United States. The difficulty just explained, has already been severely felt in Liberia, though hitherto supplied very scantily with emigrants, and those generally the most exemplary of the free blacks: thus in 1828 it was the decided opinion of Mr. Ashmun, "that for at least two years to come, a much more discriminating selection of settlers must be made, than ever has been—even in the first and second expeditions by the *Elizabeth* and *Nautilus* in 1820 and 21, or that the prosperity of the colony will *inevitably* and *rapidly decline*." Now when to all these difficulties we add the prospect of frequent wars with

* See Fifteenth Annual Report of American Colonization Society, p. 10.

the natives of Africa,* the great expense we must incur to support the colony, and the anomalous position of Virginia, an *imperium in imperio*, holding an empire abroad, we do not see how the whole scheme can be pronounced any thing less than a *stupendous piece of folly*.

Some have supposed that the circumstance of the Africans being removed a stage or two above the savages of North America, will render the colonization of Africa much easier than that of America:—we draw directly the opposite conclusion. The Indians of North America had nowhere taken possession of the soil; they were wanderers over the face of the country; their titles could be extinguished for slight considerations; and it is ever melancholy to reflect that their habits of improvidence and of intoxication, and even their cruel practices in war, have all been (such has been for them the woeful march of events,) favourable to the rapid increase of the whites, who have thus been enabled to exterminate the *red men*.

The natives of Africa exist in the rude agricultural state, much more numerous than the natives of America. Their titles to land will be extinguished with much more difficulty and expense. The very first contact with our colony will carry to them the whole art and implements of war.† As our colonists spread and press upon them, border wars will arise; and in vain will the attempt be made to extirpate the African nations, as we have the Indian tribes: every inhabitant of Liberia who is taken prisoner by his enemy, will be consigned, according to the universal practice of Africa, to the most wretched slavery either in Africa or the West Indies. And what will our colony do? Must they murder, while their enemies enslave? Oh, no, it is too cruel, and will produce barbarizing and exterminating wars. Will they spare the prisoners of war? No! There does not and never will exist a people on earth, who would tamely look on and see their wives, mothers, brothers, and sisters, ignominiously enslaved, and not resent the insult. What, then, will be done? Why, they will be certain to enslave too; and if domestic slavery should be interdicted in the colony, it would be certain to encourage the slave trade;‡ and if we could ever look forward to the time when the slave trade should be destroyed, then the throwing back of this immense current upon Africa would inundate all the countries of that region. It would be like the checking of the emigration from the northern hives upon the Roman world.

* The Colony has already had one conflict with the natives, in which it had like to be overwhelmed.

† Powder and fire-arms formed material items in the purchase of Liberia.

‡ We fear our colony at Liberia is not entirely free from this stain even now; it is well known that the British colony at Sierra Leone has frequently aided the slave trade.

The northern nations, in consequence of this check, soon experienced all the evils of a redundant population, and broke forth with their redundant numbers in another quarter; both England and France were overrun, and the repose of all Europe was again disturbed. Let, then, the real philanthropist ponder over these things, and tremble for the fate of colonies which may be imprudently planted on the African soil. The history of the world has too conclusively shown, that two races, differing in manners, customs, language, and civilization, can never harmonize upon a footing of equality. One must rule the other, or exterminating wars must be waged. In the case of the savages of North America, we have been successful in exterminating them; but in the case of African nations, we do think, from a view of the whole subject, that our colonists will most probably be the victims; but the alternative is almost equally shocking, should this not be the case. They must, then, be the exterminators or enslavers of all the nations of Africa with which they come into contact. The whole history of colonization, indeed, presents one of the most gloomy and horrific pictures to the imagination of the genuine philanthropist which can possibly be conceived. The many Indians who have been murdered, or driven in despair from the haunts and hunting grounds of their fathers—the heathen driven from his heritage, or hurried into the presence of his God in the full blossom of all his heathenish sins—the cruel slaughter of Ashantees—the murder of Burmese—all, *all* but too eloquently tell the misery and despair portended by the advance of civilization to the savage and the pagan, whether in America, Africa, or Asia. In the very few cases where the work of desolation ceased, and a commingling of races ensued, it has been found that the civilized man has sunk down to the level of barbarism, and there has ended the mighty work of civilization! Such are the melancholy pictures which sober reason is constrained to draw of the future destinies of our colony in Africa. And what, then, will become of that grand and glorious idea of carrying religion, intelligence, industry, and the arts, to the already wronged and injured Africa? It is destined to vanish, and prove worse than mere delusion. The rainbow of promise will be swept away, and we shall awake at last to all the sad realities of savage warfare and increasing barbarism. We have thus stated some of the principal difficulties and dangers accompanying a scheme of colonization, upon a scale as large as proposed in the Virginia legislature. We have said enough to show, that if we ever send ~~us~~ 6000 per annum, we must incur an expense far beyond the purchase money.

The expense of deportation to Africa we have estimated at thirty dollars; but when there is taken into the calculation the further expense of collecting in Virginia, of feeding, protecting,

&c., in Africa, the amount swells beyond all calculation. Mr. Tazewell, in his able Report on the colonization of free people of colour on the African coast, represents this expense as certainly amounting to one hundred dollars; and judging from actual experience, was disposed to think two hundred dollars would fall below the fair estimate. If the Virginia scheme shall ever be adopted, we have no doubt that both these estimates will fall below the real expense. The annual cost of removing 6000, instead of being \$1,380,000, will swell beyond \$2,400,000, an expense sufficient to destroy the entire value of the whole property of Virginia. Voltaire, in his Philosophical Dictionary, has said, that such is the inherent and preservative vigour of nations, that governments cannot possibly ruin them; that almost all governments which had been established in the world had made the attempt, but had failed. If the sage of France had lived in our days, he would have had a receipt furnished by some of our philanthropists, by which this work might have been accomplished! We read in holy writ of one great emigration from the land of Egypt, and the concomitant circumstances should bid us well beware of an imitation, unless assisted by the constant presence of Jehovah. Ten plagues were sent upon the land of Egypt before Pharaoh would consent to part with the Israelites, the productive labourers of his kingdom. But a short time convinced him of the heavy loss which he sustained by their removal, and he gave pursuit; but God was present with the Israelites—He parted the waters of the Red Sea for *their* passage, and closed them over the Egyptians—He led on his chosen people through the wilderness, testifying his presence in a pillar of fire by night and a cloud of smoke by day—He supplied them with manna in their long journey, sending a sufficiency on the sixth for that and the seventh day. When they were thirsty the rocks poured forth waters, and when they finally arrived in the land of promise, after the loss of a generation, the mysterious will of heaven had doomed the tribes of Canaan to destruction; fear and apprehension confounded all their counsels; their battlements sunk down at the trumpet's sound; the native hosts, under heaven's command, were all slaughtered; and the children of Israel took possession of the habitations and property of the slaughtered inhabitants. The whole history of this emigration beautifully illustrates the great difficulties and hardships of removal to foreign lands of multitudes of people.

But, say some, if Virginia cannot accomplish this work, let us call upon the general government for aid—let Hercules be requested to put his shoulders to the wheels, and roll us through the formidable *quagmire* of our difficulties. Delusive prospect! Corrupting scheme! We will throw all constitutional difficulties out of view, and ask if the federal government can be re-

quested to undertake the expense for Virginia, without encountering it for the whole slave-holding population? And then, whence can be drawn the funds to purchase more than 2,000,000 of slaves, worth at the lowest calculation \$400,000,000; or if the increase alone be sent off, can Congress undertake annually to purchase at least 60,000 slaves at an expense of \$12,000,000, and deport and colonize them at an expense of twelve or fifteen millions more? But the fabled hydra would be more than realized in this project. We have no doubt that if the United States in good faith should enter into the slave markets of the country, determined to purchase up the whole annual increase of our slaves, so unwise a project, by its artificial demand, would immediately produce a rise in this property, throughout the whole southern country, of at least 33½ per cent. It would stimulate and invigorate the *spring* of black population, which, by its tremendous action, would set at naught the puny efforts of man, and like the Grecian matron, unweave in the night what had been woven in the day. We might well calculate upon an annual increase of at least four and half per cent. upon our two millions of slaves, if ever the United States should create the artificial demand which we have just spoken of; and then, instead of an increase of 60,000, there will be 90,000, bearing the average price of \$300 each, making the enormous annual expense of purchase alone \$27,000,000!—and difficulties, too, on the side of the colony, would more than enlarge with the increase of the evil at home. Our Colonization Society has been more than fifteen years at work; it has purchased, according to its friends, a district of country as congenial to the constitution of the black as any in Africa; it has, as we have seen, frequently over-supplied the colony with emigrants; and mark the *result*, for it is worthy of all observation, there are not now more than 2000 or 2500 inhabitants in Liberia! And these are alarmed lest the Southampton insurrection may cause such an emigration as to inundate the colony. When, then, in the lapse of time, can we ever expect to build up a colony which can receive sixty or ninety thousand slaves per annum? And if this should ever arrive, what guarantee could be furnished us that their ports would always be open to our emigrants? Would law or compact answer? Oh, no! Some legislator, in the plenitude of his wisdom, might arise, who could easily and *truly* persuade his countrymen that these annual importations of blacks were *nuisances*, and that the laws of God, whatever might be those of men, would justify their abatement. And the drama would be wound up in this land of promise and expectation, by turning the cannon's

* We must recollect, that the expense of colonizing increases much more rapidly than in proportion to the simple increase of the number of emigrants.

mouth against the liberated emigrant and deluded philanthropist. The scheme of colonizing our blacks on the coast of Africa, or any where else, by the United States, is thus seen to be more stupendously absurd than even the Virginia project. King Canute, the Dane, seated on the sea shore, and ordering the rising flood to recede from his royal feet, was not guilty of more vanity and presumption than the government of the United States would manifest, in the vain effort of removing and colonizing the annual increase of our blacks.

We have thus examined fully this scheme of emancipation and deportation, and trust we have satisfactorily shown, that the whole plan is utterly impracticable, requiring an expense and sacrifice of property far beyond the entire resources of the state and federal governments. We shall now proceed to inquire, whether we can emancipate our slaves with permission that they remain among us.

Emancipation without deportation.

We candidly confess, that we look upon this last mentioned scheme as much more practicable and likely to be forced upon us, than the former. We consider it at the same time so fraught with danger and mischief both to the whites and blacks—so utterly subversive of the welfare of the slave-holding country, in both an economical and moral point of view, that we cannot, upon any principle of right or expediency, give it our sanction. Almost all the speakers in the Virginia legislature seemed to think there ought to be no emancipation without deportation. Mr. Clay, too, in his celebrated Colonization speech of 1830, says, “If the question were submitted whether there should be immediate or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, without their removal or colonization, painful as it is to express the opinion, *I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them.* I believe, that the *aggregate* of evils which would be engendered in society, upon the supposition of general emancipation, and of the liberated slaves remaining principally among us, would be greater than *all* the evils of slavery, great as they unquestionably are.” Even the northern philanthropists themselves admit, generally, that there should be no emancipation without removal. Perhaps, then, under these circumstances, we might have been justified in closing our review with a consideration of the colonization scheme; but as we are anxious to survey this subject fully in all its aspects, and to demonstrate upon every ground the complete justification of the whole southern country in a further continuance of that system of slavery which has been originated by no fault of theirs, and continued and increased contrary to their most earnest desires and petitions, we have determined briefly to examine this scheme

likewise. As we believe the scheme of deportation *utterly* impracticable, we have come to the conclusion that in the present great question, the real and the decisive line of conduct is either *abolition without removal*, or a *steady perseverance* in the system now established. "Paltry and timid minds," says the present Lord Chancellor of England on this very subject, "shudder at the thought of *mere inactivity*, as cowardly troops tremble at the idea of calmly waiting for the enemy's approach. Both the one and the other hasten their fate by relentless and foolish movements."

The great ground upon which we shall rest our argument on this subject is, *that the slaves, in both an economical and moral point of view, are entirely unfit for a state of freedom among the whites*; and we shall produce such proofs and illustrations of our position, as seem to us perfectly conclusive. That condition of our species from which the most important consequences flow, says Mr. Mill the Utilitarian, is the necessity of labour for the supply of the fund of our necessities and conveniences. It is this which influences, perhaps, more than any other, even our moral and religious character, and determines more than every thing else besides, the social and political state of man. It must enter into the calculations of not only the political economist, but even of the metaphysician, the moralist, the theologian, and politician.

We shall therefore proceed at once to inquire what effect would be produced upon the slaves of the South in an economical point of view, by emancipation with permission to remain—whether the *voluntary* labour of the freedman would be as great as the *involuntary* labour of the slave? Fortunately for us this question has been so frequently and fairly subjected to the test of experience, that we are no longer left to vain and fruitless conjecture. Much was said in the legislature of Virginia about superiority of free labour over slave, and perhaps under certain circumstances this might be true; but in the present instance, the question is between *the relative amounts of labour which may be obtained from slaves before and after their emancipation*. Let us then first commence with our country, where it is well known to every body, that slave labour is vastly more efficient and productive, than the labour of free blacks. Taken as a whole class, the latter must be considered the most worthless and indolent of the citizens of the United States. It is well known that throughout the whole extent of our Union, they are looked upon as the very *drones* and *pests* of society. Nor does this character arise from the disabilities and disfranchisement by which the law attempts to guard against them. In the non-slave-holding states, where they have been more elevated by law, this kind of population is in a worse condition and much more troublesome

to society, than in the slave-holding, and especially in the planting states. Ohio, some years ago, formed a sort of land of promise for this deluded class, to which many repaired from the slave-holding states; and what has been the consequence? They have been most harshly expelled from that state and forced to take refuge in a foreign land. Look through all the Northern States, and mark the class upon whom the eye of the police is most steadily and constantly kept—see with what vigilance and care they are hunted down from place to place—and you cannot fail to see, that idleness and improvidence are at the root of all their misfortunes. Not only does the experience of our own country illustrate this great fact, but others furnish abundant testimony.

“The free negroes,” says Brougham, “in the West Indies, are, with a very few exceptions, chiefly in the Spanish and Portuguese settlements, equally averse to all sorts of labour which do not contribute to the supply of their immediate and most urgent wants. Improvident and careless of the future, they are not actuated by that principle which inclines more civilized men to equalize their exertions at all times, and to work after the necessities of the day have been procured, in order to make up for the possible deficiencies of the morrow: nor has their intercourse with the whites taught them to consider any gratification as worth obtaining, which cannot be procured by slight exertion of desultory and capricious industry.”* In the Report of the Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain, in 1788, the most ample proof of this assertion is brought forward. In Jamaica and Barbadoes, it was stated, that free negroes were never known to work for hire, and they have all the vices of the slaves. Mr. Braithwait, the agent for Barbadoes, affirmed, that if the slaves in that Island were offered their freedom on condition of working for themselves, not one-tenth of them would accept it. In all the other colonies the statements agree most accurately with those collected by the Committee of the Privy Council. “M. Malouet, who bore a special commission from the present government to examine the character and habits of the Maroons in Dutch Guiana, and to determine whether or not they were adapted to become hired labourers, informs us that they will only work one day in the week, which they find abundantly sufficient in the fertile soil and genial climate of the New World, to supply all the wants that they have yet learnt to feel. The rest of their time is spent in absolute indolence and sloth. ‘*Le repos,*’ says he ‘*et l’oisiveté sont devenus dans leur état social leur unique passion.*’ He gives the very same description of the free negroes in the French colonies, although many of them possess lands and slaves. The spectacle, he tells us, was never yet exhibited of a

* Brougham’s Colonial Policy, Book IV. Sec. 1.

free negro supporting his family by the culture of his little property. All other authors agree in giving the same description of free negroes in the British, French, and Dutch colonies, by whatever denomination they may be distinguished, whether Maroons, Caraïbes, free blacks, or fugitive slaves. The Abbé Raynal, with all his ridiculous fondness for savages, cannot, in the present instance, so far twist the facts according to his fancies and feelings, as to give a favourable portrait of this degraded race.”*

From these facts it would require no great sagacity to come to the conclusion, that slave cannot be converted into free labour without imminent danger to the prosperity and wealth of the country where the change takes place—and in this particular it matters not what may be the colour of the slave. In the commencement of the reign of Charles V., the representations of Las Casas determined Cardinal Ximenes, the prime minister of Charles, to make an experiment of the conversion of slave labour into free; and for this purpose pious commissioners were sent out, attended by Las Casas himself, for the purpose of liberating the Indian slaves in the New World. Now mark the result—these commissioners, chosen from the cloister, and big with real philanthropy, repaired to the Western World intent upon the great work of emancipation. “Their ears,” says Robertson, “were open to information from every quarter—they compared the different accounts which they received—and after a *mature* consideration of the whole, they were fully satisfied that the state of the colony rendered it *impossible* to adopt the plan proposed by Las Casas, and recommended by the Cardinal. They plainly perceived, that no allurements were so powerful as to surmount the natural aversion of the Indians to any laborious effort, and that nothing but the authority of a master could compel them to work; and if they were not kept constantly under the eye and discipline of a superior, so great were their natural listlessness and indifference, that they would neither attend to religious instruction, nor observe those rights of Christianity which they had been already taught. Upon all these accounts the superintendents found it *necessary* to tolerate *repartimientos*, and to suffer the Indians to remain under subjection to their Spanish masters.”† In the latter part of his reign, Charles, with most imprudent and fatal decision, proclaimed the immediate and universal emancipation of all the Indians—and precisely what any man of reflection might have anticipated resulted. Their industry and freedom were found entirely incompatible. The alarm was instantly spread over the whole Spanish colonies. Peru, for a time lost

* Brougham's Colonial Policy.

† Robertson's America, vol. i. p. 123.

to the monarchy, was only restored by the repeal of the obnoxious law ; and in New Spain quiet was only preserved by a combination of the governor and subjects to suspend its execution. During the mad career of the French revolution, the slaves in the French colonies were for a time liberated, and even in Cayenne, where the experiment succeeded best in consequence of the paucity of slaves, it completely demonstrated the superiority of slave over free black labour ; and generally the re-establishment of slavery was attended with the most happy consequences, and even courted by the negroes themselves, who became heartily tired of their short lived liberty. Of the great experiment which has been recently made in Colombia and Guatemala, we shall presently speak. We believe it has completely proved the same well established fact—the great superiority of slave over free negro labour.

Mr. Clarkson, in his pamphlet on Slavery, has alluded in terms of high commendation to an experiment made in Barbadoes, on Mr. Steele's plantation, which he contends has proved the safety and facility of the transition from slave to free labour. It seems Mr. Steele parcelled out his land among his negroes, and paid them wages for their labour. Now, we invite particularly the attention of our readers to the following extracts from the letter of Mr. Sealy, a neighbour of Mr. Steele, which will not only serve to establish our position, but afford an illustration of the melancholy fact, that the best of men cannot be relied on when under the influence of prejudice and passion. "It so happened," says Mr. Sealy, "that I resided on the nearest adjoining estate to Mr. Steele, and superintended the management of it myself for many years ; I had therefore a better opportunity of forming an opinion than Mr. Clarkson can have—he has read Mr. Steele's account—I witnessed the operations and effects of his plans. He possessed one of the largest and most seasonable plantations, in a delightful part of the island ; with all these advantages his estate was never in as good order as those in the same neighbourhood, and the crops were neither adequate to the size and resources of the estate, nor in proportion to those of other estates in the same part of the island. Finally, after an experiment of thirty years, under Mr. Steele, and his executor, Mr. T. Bell, Mr. Steele's debts remained unpaid, and the plantation was sold by a decree of the Court of Chancery. After the debts and costs of suit were paid, very little remained out of £45,000 to go to the residuary legatees.

"It was very well known that the negroes rejoiced when the change took place, and thanked their God that they were relieved from the copyhold system. Such was the final result and success that attended this system, which has been so much eulogized by Mr. Clarkson. After the estate was sold and the system

changed, I had equally an opportunity of observing the management, and certainly the manifest improvement was strong evidence in favour of the change. Fields which had been covered with bushes for a series of years, were brought into cultivation, and the number of pounds of sugar was in some years more than doubled under the new management; the provision crops also were abundant; consequently the negroes and stock were amply provided for." Again; the Attorney General of Barbadoes corroborates the statements of Mr. Sealy in the most positive terms: he says, "I was surprised to see it asserted lately in print, that his, Mr. Steele's plantation, succeeded well under that management. *I know it to be false.* It failed considerably; and had he lived a few years longer, he would have died not worth a *farthing*. Upon his death they reverted to the old system, to which the slaves readily and willingly returned; the plantation now succeeds, and the slaves are contented and happy, and think themselves much better off than under the copyhold system, for their wages would not afford them many comforts which they have now." (Upon this subject see No. LX. *London Quarterly. ART. West India Colonies.*) But a short time since, a highly respectable, and one of the most intelligent farmers of Virginia, informed us that he had actually tried, upon a much smaller scale, a similar experiment, and that it entirely failed; the negroes, devoid of judgment and good management, became lazy and improvident, and every time one was so unfortunate as to fall sick, it immediately became necessary to support him. The whole plan soon disgusted the master, and proved that the free labour system would not answer for the best of our negroes; for those he tried were his best. Now these experiments were the more conclusive, because the master reserved the right of reimposing slavery upon them in case the experiment should not meet his approbation: every stimulus was thus offered, in case their freedom were really desirable, to work hard, but their natural indolence and carelessness triumphed over love of liberty, and demonstrated the fact, that free labour made out of slave, is the worst in the world.

So far we have adduced instances from among mixed populations alone. Some have imagined that the indolence of the liberated black in these cases, has arisen entirely from the presence of the whites, acknowledged to be the superior race both by law and custom; that consequently if the blacks could be freed from the degrading influence exerted by the mere pressure of the whites, they would quickly manifest more desire to accumulate and acquire all the industrious habits of the English operative or New-England labourer. Although this is foreign to our immediate object, which is to prove the inefficacy of free black labour in our country, where of course whites must always be present,

we will nevertheless examine this opinion, because it has been urged in favour of that grand scheme of colonization recommended by some of the orators in the Virginia legislature. Our own opinion is that the presence of the whites ought rather to be an incentive and encouragement to labour. Habits of industry are more easily acquired when all are busy and active around us. A man feels a spirit of industry and activity stir within him, from moving amongst such societies as those of Marseilles, Liverpool, and New-York, where the din of business and bustle assails his ears at every turn, whereas he soon becomes indolent and listless at Bath or Saratoga. Why then are our coloured free men so generally indolent and worthless among the industrious and enterprising citizens of even our northern and New-England states? It is because there is an inherent and intrinsic cause at work, which will produce its effect under all circumstances. In the free black, the principle of idleness and dissipation triumphs over that of accumulation and the desire to better our condition; the animal part of the man gains the victory over the *moral*; and he consequently prefers sinking down into the listless inglorious repose of the brute creation, to rising to that energetic activity which can only be generated amid the multiplied, refined, and artificial wants of civilized society. The very conception which nine slaves in ten have of liberty, is that of idleness and sloth with the enjoyment of plenty; and we are not to wonder that they should hasten to practise upon their theory so soon as liberated. But the experiment has been sufficiently tried to prove most conclusively that the free black will work nowhere except by compulsion.

St. Domingo is often spoken of by philanthropists and schemers; the trial has there been made upon a scale sufficiently grand to test our opinions, and we are perfectly willing to abide the result of the experiment.

The main purpose of the mission of Consul General M'Kenzie to Hayti, by the British government, was to clear up this very question. We have made every exertion to procure the very valuable notes of that gentleman on Hayti, but have failed: we are therefore obliged to rely upon the eighty-ninth number of the London Quarterly, in one article of which, mention is made of the result of M'Kenzie's observations. "By all candid persons," says the Review, "the deliberate opinion which that able man has formed from careful observation, and the whole tenor of the evidence he has furnished, will be thought conclusive. Such invincible repugnance do the free negroes of that island feel to labour, that the system of the *code rural* of 1826, about the genuineness of which so much doubt was entertained a few years ago, is described as falling little short of the compulsion to which the slaves had been subjected previous to their emancipation.

‘The consequences of delinquency,’ he says, ‘are heavy fine and imprisonment, and the provisions of the law are as despotic as can well be conceived.’ He afterwards subjoins:—‘Such have been the various modes for inducing or compelling labour for nearly forty years. It is next necessary to ascertain as far as it is practicable, the degree of success which has attended each; and the only mode with which I am acquainted, is to give the returns of the exported agricultural produce during the same period, marking, where it can be done, any accidental circumstance that may have had an influence.’ He then quotes the returns at length, and observes—‘There is one decided inference from the whole of these six returns, viz. the positive decrease of corn cultivation in all its branches—the diminution of other branches of industry, though not equally well marked, is no less certain, than that articles of spontaneous growth maintain, if not exceed, their former amount.’ We may further add, that even the light labour required for trimming the plantation coffee trees, has been so much neglected, that the export of coffee in 1830, falls short of that of 1829, by no less than 10,000,000 pounds.” (*See London Quarterly Review*, No. 89, *Art. West India Question*.)

We subjoin here, to exhibit the facts asserted by Mr. M’Kenzie in a more striking manner, a tabular view of some of the principal exports from St. Domingo, during her subjection to France, and during the best years of the reigns of Toussaint, Dessalines, and Boyer,* upon the authority of James Franklin on the present state of Hayti.

Produce.	French.	Toussaint.	Dessalines.	Boyer.
	1791.	1802.	1804.	1822.†
Sugar,	163,405,220 lbs.	53,400,000 lbs.	47,600,000 lbs.	652,541 lbs.
Coffee,	68,151,180	34,370,000	31,000,000	35,117,834
Cotton,	6,286,126	4,050,000	3,000,000	891,950

There has been a gradual diminution of the amount of the products of Hayti since 1822. In 1825 the whole value of exports was about \$ 8,000,000, more than \$ 1,000,000 less than in 1822, and the revenue of the island was not equal to the public expenditure. Is not this fair experiment for forty years, under more favourable circumstances than any reasonable man had a right to anticipate, sufficient to convince and overwhelm the most sceptical as to the unproductiveness of slave labour converted into free labour?

But the British colony at Sierra Leone is another case in point, to establish the same position. Evidence was taken in 1830 be-

* It is known that under Boyer there was a union of the Island under one government.

† The other years give the returns for the French part of the Island, this for the Spanish and French, and ought therefore to be proportionably greater.

fore a committee of the House of Commons. Captain Bullen, R. N. stated that at Sierra Leone they gave the blacks a portion of land to cultivate, and they cultivate *just as much* as will keep them and not *an inch* more. Mr. Jackson, one of the judges of the mixed commission court, being asked—"Taking into consideration the situation of Sierra Leone, and the attention paid by government to promote their comfort, what progress have they made towards civilization or the comforts of civilized life?" makes this answer—"I should say very inadequate to the efforts which have been made to promote their comfort and civilization." Captain Spence, being asked a similar question, replies—"I have formed a very indifferent opinion as to their progress in industry. I have not been able to observe that they seem inclined to cultivate the country farther than vegetables and things of that kind. They do not seem inclined to cultivate for exportation. Their wants are very few, and they are very wild; and their wants are supplied by the little exertion they make. They have sufficient to maintain them in clothing and food, and these are all their wants."

Our own colony upon the coast of Africa proves too the same fact. It has been fed slowly and cautiously with emigrants, and yet Mr. Ashmun's intreaties to colonization-friends in the United States, to recollect that rice did not grow spontaneously in Africa, to send out *labouring men* of good character, &c., but too conclusively show, in spite of the coloured and exaggerated statements of prejudiced friends, the great difficulty of making the negroes work in even Liberia; and we have no doubt that if 6000 or 60,000 could be colonized annually in Africa, there would not be a more worthless and indolent race of people upon the face of the globe than our African colonies would exhibit.

We have now, we think, proved our position that slave labour in an economical point of view, is far superior to free negro labour; and have no doubt that if an immediate emancipation of the negroes were to take place, the whole southern country would be visited with an immediate general famine, from which the productive sources of all the other states of the Union could not deliver them.

It is now easy for us to demonstrate the second point in our argument—that the slave is not only *economically* but *morally* unfit for freedom. And first, idleness and consequent want, are of themselves sufficient to generate a catalogue of vices of the most mischievous and destructive character. Look to the penal prosecutions of every country, and mark the situation of those who fall victims to the laws. And what a frightful proportion do we find among the indigent and idle classes of society! Idleness generates want—want gives rise to temptation—and strong temptation makes the villain. The most appropriate prayer for

frail imperfect man, is, "lead us not into temptation." Mr. Archer of Virginia well observed in a speech before the Colonization Society, that "the free blacks were destined by an insurmountable barrier—to the want of occupation—thence to the want of food—thence to the distresses which ensue that want—thence to the settled deprivation which grows out of those distresses, and is nursed at their bosoms; and this condition *was not casually but fate*. The evidence was not speculation in political economy—it was geometrical demonstration."

We are not to wonder that this class of citizens should be so depraved and immoral. An idle population will always be worthless; and it is a mistake to think that they are only worthless in the Southern States, where it is erroneously supposed the slavery of a portion of their race depresses them below their condition in the free states: on the contrary, we are disposed rather to think their condition better in the slave than the free states. Mr. Everett, in a speech before the Colonization Society, during the present year, says, "they (the free blacks) form in Massachusetts about one-seventy-fifth part of the population; *one-sixth of the convicts in our prisons are of this class*." The average number of annual convictions in the state of Virginia, estimated by the late Governor Giles, from the penitentiary reports, up to 1829, is seventy-one for the whole population—making one in every sixteen thousand of the white population, one in every twenty-two thousand of the slaves, and one for every five thousand of the free coloured people. Thus, it will be seen, that crimes among the free blacks are more than three times as numerous as among the whites, and four and a half times more numerous than among the slaves. But although the free blacks have thus much the largest proportion of crime to answer for, yet the proportion is not so great in Virginia as in Massachusetts. Although they are relatively to the other classes more numerous, making the one-thirtieth of the population of the state, not one-eighth of the whole number of convicts are from among them in Virginia, while in Massachusetts there is one-sixth. We may infer, then, they are not so degraded and vicious in Virginia, a slave-holding state, as in Massachusetts, a non-slave-holding state. But there is one fact to which we invite particularly the attention of those philanthropists who have the elevation of southern slaves so much at heart—that *the slaves in Virginia furnish a much smaller annual proportion of convicts than the whites, and among the latter a very large proportion of the convicts consist of foreigners or citizens of other states*.

There is one disadvantage attendant upon free blacks, in the slave-holding states, which is not felt in the non-slave-holding. In the former they corrupt the slaves, encourage them to steal

from their masters by purchasing from them, and they are, too, a sort of moral conductor by which the slaves can better organize and concert plans of mischief among themselves.

So far we have been speaking of the evils resulting from mere idleness; but there are other circumstances which must not be omitted in an enumeration of the obstacles to emancipation. The blacks have now all the habits and feelings of slaves, the whites have those of masters; the prejudices are formed, and mere legislation cannot remove them. "Give me," said a wise man, "the formation of the habits and manners of a people, and I care not who makes the laws." Declare the negroes of the South free to-morrow, and vain will be your decree until you have prepared them for it; you depress, instead of elevating. The law would, in every point of view, be one of the most cruel and inhumane which could possibly be passed. The law would make them freemen, and custom or prejudice, we care not which you call it, would degrade them to the condition of slaves; and soon should we see, that "it is happened unto them, according to the true proverb, the dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." "*Ne quid nimis*," should be our maxim; and we must never endeavour to elevate beyond what circumstances will allow. It is better that each one should remain in society in the condition in which he has been born and trained, and not to mount too fast without preparation. Hence, in the southern states the condition of the free blacks is better than in the northern; in the latter he is told that he is a freeman and entirely equal to the white, and prejudice assigns to him a degraded station—light is furnished him by which to view the interior of the fairy palace which is fitted up for him, and custom expels him from it, after the law has told him it was his. He consequently leads a life of endless mortification and disappointment. Tantalus like, he has frequently the cup to his lips, and imperious custom dashes it untasted from him. In the southern states, law and custom more generally coincide; the former makes no profession which the latter does not sanction, and consequently the free black has nothing to grieve and disappoint him.

We have already said, in the course of this review, that if we were to liberate the slaves, we could not, in fact, alter their condition—they would still be virtually slaves; talent, habit, and wealth, would make the white the master still, and the emancipation would only have the tendency to deprive him of those sympathies and kind feelings for the black which now characterize him. Liberty has been the heaviest curse to the slave, when given too soon; we have already spoken of the eagerness and joy with which the negroes of Mr. Steele, in Barbadoes, returned to a state of slavery. The east of Europe affords hundreds of

similar instances. In 1791, Stanislaus Augustus, preparing a hopeless resistance to the threatened attack of Russia, in concert with the states, gave to Poland a constitution which established the complete personal freedom of the peasantry. The boon has never been recalled, and what was the consequence? "Finding," (says Jones, in his volume on Rents,) "their dependence on their proprietors for subsistence remained undiminished, the peasants showed no very grateful sense of the boon bestowed upon them; they feared they should now be deprived of all claim upon the proprietors for assistance, when calamity or infirmity overtook them. It is only since they have discovered that the *connexion* between them and the owners of the estates on which they reside is *little altered in practice*, and that their old masters very generally *continue*, from expediency or humanity, the occasional aid they formerly lent them, that they have become *reconciled* to their new character of freemen." "The Polish boors are, therefore, in *fact*, still *slaves*," says Burnett, in his "View of the Present State of Poland," "and relatively to their political existence, absolutely subject to the will of their lord as in all the barbarism of the feudal times."—"I was once on a short journey with a nobleman, when we stopped to bait at the farm-house of a village. The peasants got intelligence of the presence of their lord, and assembled in a body of twenty or thirty to prefer a petition to him. I was never more struck with the appearance of these poor wretches, and the *contrast* of their condition with that of their master; I stood at a distance, and perceived that he did not yield to their supplication. When he dismissed them, I had the curiosity to inquire the object of their petition; and he replied, that they had begged for an increased allowance of land, on the plea that what they had was insufficient for their support. He added, 'I did not grant it them because their present allotment is the usual quantity, and as it has sufficed hitherto, so I know it will in time to come. Besides,' said he, 'if I give them more, I well know that it will not in *reality* better their circumstances.' Poland does not furnish a man of more humanity than the one who rejected this apparently reasonable petition; but it must be allowed that he had reasons for what he did. Those degraded and wretched beings, instead of hoarding the small surplus of their absolute necessities, are almost universally *accustomed to expend* it in that abominable spirit, which they call *schnaps*. It is incredible what quantities of this pernicious liquor are drunk by the peasant men and women. The first time I saw any of these withered creatures was at Dantzic. I was prepared, by printed accounts, to expect a sight of singular wretchedness; but I shrunk involuntarily from the sight of the reality. Some involuntary exclamation of surprise, mixed with compassion, escaped me; a thoughtless and a feelingless per-

son (which are about the same thing) was standing by, 'Oh, sir,' says he, 'you will find plenty of such people as these in Poland; and you may strike them and kick them, or do what you please with them, and they will never resist you: they dare not.' Far be it from me to ascribe the feelings of this man to the more cultivated and humanized Poles; but such incidental and thoughtless expressions betray but too sensibly the general state of feeling which exists in regard to these oppressed men." The traveller will now look in vain, throughout our slave-holding country, for such misery as is here depicted; and in spite of all the tales told by gossiping travellers, he will find no master so relentless as the Polish proprietor, and no young man so "thoughtless" and "feelingless" as the young Pole above mentioned. But liberate our slaves, and in a very few years we shall have all these horrors and reproaches added unto us.

In Livonia, likewise, the serfs were prematurely liberated; and mark the consequences. Von Halen, who travelled through Livonia in 1819, observes, "along the high-road through Livonia are found, at short distances, filthy public houses, called in the country *Rhatcharuas*, before the doors of which are usually seen a multitude of wretched carts and sledges belonging to the peasants, who are so addicted to brandy and strong liquors* that they spend whole hours in those places. Nothing proves so much the state of barbarism in which those men are sunk, as the manner in which they received the decree issued about this time. These savages, unwilling to depend upon their own exertions for support, *made all the resistances in their power* to that decree, the execution of which was at length *intrusted to an armed force*." The Livonian peasants, therefore, received their new privileges yet more ungraciously than the Poles, though accompanied with the gift of property and secure means of subsistence, if they *chose to exert themselves*. By an edict of Maria Theresa, called, by the Hungarians, the *urbarium*, personal slavery and attachment to the soil were abolished, and the peasants declared to be "*homines liberæ transmigrationis*;" and yet, says Jones, "the authority of the owners of the soil over the persons and property of their tenantry has been very imperfectly abrogated; the necessities of the peasants oblige them frequently to resort to their landlords for loans of food; they become laden with heavy debts, to be discharged by labour.† The proprietors

* We believe, in case of an emancipation of our blacks, that drunkenness would be among them like the destroying angel.

† Almost all our free negroes will run in debt to the full amount of their credit. "I never knew a free negro," says an intelligent correspondent, in a late letter, "who would not contract debts, if allowed, to greater amount than he could pay; and those whom I have suffered to reside on my land, although good

retain the right of employing them at pleasure, paying them, in lieu of subsistence, about one-third of the actual value of their labour: and lastly, the administration of justice is still in the hands of the nobles; and one of the first sights which strikes a foreigner, on approaching their mansions, is a sort of low framework of posts, to which a serf is tied when it is thought proper to administer the discipline of the whip, for offences which do not seem grave enough to demand a formal trial."

Let us for a moment revert to the black republic of Hayti, and we shall see that the negroes have gained nothing by their bloody revolution. Mr. Franklin, who derives his information from personal inspection, gives the following account of the present state of the island:—"Oppressed with the weight of an overwhelming debt, contracted without an equivalent, with an empty treasury, and destitute of the ways and means for supplying it; the soil almost neglected, or at least very partially tilled; without commerce or credit. Such is the present state of the republic; and it seems almost impossible that, under the system which is now pursued, there should be any melioration of its condition, or that it can arrive at any very high state of improvement. Hence, there appears every reason to apprehend that it *will recede into irrecoverable insignificance, poverty, and disorder.*" (p. 265.) And the great mass of the Haytiens are virtually in a state of as abject slavery as when the island was under the French dominion. The government soon found it absolutely necessary to establish a system of compulsion in all respects as bad, and more intolerable, than when slavery existed. The *Code Henri* prescribed the most mortifying regulations, to be obeyed by the labourers of the island; *work was to commence at daylight, and continue uninterruptedly till eight o'clock; one hour was then allowed to the labourer to breakfast on the spot; at nine work commenced again and continued until twelve, when two hours repose was given to the labourer; at two he commenced again, and worked until night.* All these regulations were enforced by severe penal enactments. Even Toussaint L'Ouverture, who is supposed to have had the welfare of the negroes as much at heart as any other ruler in St. Domingo, in one of his proclamations in the ninth year of the French republic, peremptorily directs—"all *free labourers*, men and women, now in a state of idleness, and living in towns, villages, and on other plantations than those to which they belong, with the intention to evade work, even those of both sexes who had not been employed in field labour since the revolution, *are required to return immediately* to their respective plantations." And in

mechanics, have been generally so indolent and improvident as to be in my debt at the end of the year, for provisions, brandy, &c., when I would allow it."

article seven, he directs, that "the *overseers* and *drivers* of every plantation shall make it their business to inform the commanding officer of the district in regard to the conduct of the labourers *under their management*, as well as those who shall absent themselves from their plantations *without a pass*, and of those who residing on the plantations shall refuse to work; they shall be forced to go to the labour of the field, and if they prove obstinate, they shall be arrested and carried before the military commandant, in order to suffer the punishment above prescribed, according to the exigence of the case, the punishment being fine and imprisonment." And here is the boasted freedom of the negroes of St. Domingo;—the appalling vocabulary of "overseer," "driver," "pass," &c., is not even abolished. Slavery to the government and its military officers is substituted for private slavery; the black master has stepped into the shoes of the white; and we all know that he is the most cruel of masters, and more dreaded by the negro than any of the ten plagues of Egypt. We are well convinced, that there is not a single negro in the commonwealth of Virginia who would accept such *freedom*; and yet the happiest of the human race are constantly invited to sigh for such freedom, and to sacrifice all their happiness in the vain wish. But it is not necessary further to multiply examples; enough has already been said, we hope, to convince the most sceptical of the great disadvantage to the slave himself, of freedom, when he is not prepared for it. It is unfortunate, indeed, that prejudiced and misguided philanthropists so often assert as *facts*, what, on investigation, turns out not only false, but even hostile to the very theories which they are attempting to support by them. We have already given one example of this kind of deception, in relation to Mr. Steele. We will now give another.

"In the year 1760, the Chancellor Zamoyski," says Burnett, "enfranchised six villages in the Palatinate of Masovia. This experiment has been much vaunted by Mr. Coxe, as having been attended with all the good effects desired; and he asserts that the chancellor had, in consequence, enfranchised the peasants on all his estates. *Both of these assertions are false.* I inquired particularly of the son of the present Count Zamoyski respecting these six villages, and was grieved to learn, that the experiment had completely failed. The count said, that within a few years he had sold the estate; and added, I was glad to get rid of it from the trouble the peasants gave me. 'These degraded beings,' on receiving their freedom, were overjoyed at they knew not what, having no distinct comprehension of what freedom meant; but merely a rude notion that they may now do what they liked.*

* Precisely such a notion as that entertained by the slaves of this country and the West Indies.

They ran into every species of excess and extravagance which their circumstances admitted. Drunkenness, instead of being occasional, became almost perpetual ; riot and disorder usurped the place of quietness and industry ; the necessary labour suspended, the lands were worse cultivated than before ; the small rents required of them they were often unable to pay." (*Burnett's View of Poland*, p. 105.) Indeed, it is a calamity to mankind, that zealous and overheated philanthropists will not suffer the truth to circulate, when believed hostile to their visionary schemes. Such examples as the foregoing ought to be known and attended to. They would prevent a great deal of that impatient silly action which has drawn down such incalculable misery, so frequently, upon the human family. "There is a time for all things," and nothing in this world should be done before its time. An emancipation of our slaves would check at once that progress of improvement, which is now so manifest among them. The whites would either gradually withdraw, and leave whole districts or settlements in their possession, in which case they would sink rapidly in the scale of civilization ; or the blacks, by closer intercourse, would bring the whites down to their level. In the contact between the civilized and uncivilized man, all history and experience show, that the former will be sure to sink to the level of the latter. In these cases it is always easier to descend than ascend, and nothing will prevent the *facilis descensus* but slavery. The great evil, however, of these schemes of emancipation, remains yet to be told. They are admirably calculated to excite plots, murders, and insurrections ; whether gradual or rapid in their operation, this is the inevitable tendency. In the former case, you disturb the quiet and contentment of the slave who is left unemancipated ; and he becomes the midnight murderer to gain that fatal freedom whose blessings he does not comprehend. In the latter case, want and invidious distinction will prompt to revenge. Two totally different races, as we have before seen, cannot easily harmonize together ; and although we have no idea that any organized plan of insurrection or rebellion can ever secure for the black the superiority, even when free,* yet his idleness will produce want and worthlessness, and his very worthlessness and degradation will stimulate him to deeds of rapine and vengeance ; he will oftener engage in plots and massacres, and thereby draw down on his devoted head the vengeance of the provoked whites. But one limited massacre is recorded in Virginia history ; let her liberate her slaves, and every year you would hear of insurrec-

* Power can never be dislodged from the hands of the intelligent, the wealthy, and the courageous, by any plans that can be formed by the poor, the ignorant, and the habitually subservient ; history scarce furnishes such an example.

tions and plots, and every day would perhaps record a murder; the melancholy tale of Southampton would not alone blacken the page of our history, and make the tender mother shed the tear of horror over her babe as she clasped it to her bosom; others of a deeper die would thicken upon us; those regions where the brightness of polished life has dawned and brightened into full day, would relapse into darkness, thick and full of horrors, and in those dark and dismal hours, we might well exclaim, in the shuddering language of the poet—

“Nox atra cavâ circumvolat umbrâ
 Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fundo
 Explicet? * * * * *
 Urbs antiqua ruit, multos dominata per annos
 Plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim
 Corpora per que domos, et religiosa deorum
 Limina. * * * Crudelis ubique
 Luctus ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago.”

Colombia and Guatemala have tried the dangerous experiment of emancipation, and we invite the attention of the reader to the following dismal picture of the city of Guatemala, drawn by the graphic pencil of Mr. Dunn—“With Lazaroni in rags and filth, a *coloured population drunken and revengeful*, her females licentious and her males shameless, she *ranks* as a *true child* of that *accursed city*, which still remains as a living monument of the fulfilment of prophesy and the forbearance of God, the hole of every foul spirit, the cage of every unclean and hateful bird. The pure and simple sweets of domestic life, with its thousand tendernesses and its gentle affections, are here exchanged for the feverish joys of a dissipated hour;—and the peaceful home of love is converted into a theatre of mutual accusations and recriminations. This leads to violent excesses; *men* carry a large *knife* in a belt, *women* one fastened in the garter. *Not a day passes without murder*; on fast days and on Sundays, the average number killed is from four to five. From the number admitted in the hospital of St. Juan de Dios, it appears that in the year 1827, near fifteen hundred were stabbed, of whom from three to four hundred died.”* Thank Heaven no such scenes as these have yet been witnessed in our country. From the day of the arrival of the negro slaves upon our coast in the Dutch vessel, up to the present hour, a period of more than two hundred years, there have not perished in the whole southern country by the hands of slaves, a number of whites equal to the average annual stabbings in the city of Guatemala, containing a population of 30,000 souls!! “Nor is the freed African,” says Dunn, “one degree raised in the scale—*under fewer restraints, his vices display themselves more disgustingly;—insolent and*

* See Dunn's Sketches of Guatemala, in 1827 and 1828, pp. 95, 96, and 97.

proud, indolent and a liar, he imitates only the vices of his superiors, and to the catalogue of his former crimes adds drunkenness and theft." Do not all these appalling examples but too eloquently tell the consequences of emancipation, and bid us well beware how we enter on any system which will be almost certain to bring down ruin and degradation on both the whites and the blacks?

But in despite of all the reasoning and illustrations which can be urged, the example of the northern states of our confederacy and the west of Europe afford, it is thought by some, conclusive evidence of the facility of changing the slave into the freeman. As to the former, it is enough to say that paucity of numbers,* uncongenial climate, and the state of agriculture to the north, together with the great demand of slaves to the south, alone accomplished the business. In reference to the west of Europe, it was the rise of the towns, the springing up of a middle class, and a change of agriculture, which gradually and silently effected the emancipation of the slaves, in a great measure through the operation of the selfish principle itself. Commerce and manufactures arose in the western countries, and with them sprang up a middle class of freemen, in the cities and the country too, which gradually and imperceptibly absorbed into its body all the slaves. But for this middle class, which acted as the *absorbent*, the slaves could not have been liberated with safety or advantage to either party. Now, in our southern country, there is no body of this kind to become *the absorbent*, nor are we likely to have such a body, unless we look into the vista of the future, and imagine a time when the south shall be to the north, what England now is to Ireland, and will consequently be *overrun* with northern labourers, underbidding *the means of subsistence* which will be furnished to the negro: then *perhaps* such a labouring class, devoid of all pride and habits of lofty bearing, *may* become a proper *recipient* or *absorbent* for emancipated slaves. But even then we fear the effects of difference of colour. The slave of Italy or France could be emancipated or escape to the city, and soon all records of his former state would perish, and he would gradually sink into the mass of freemen around him. But unfortunately the emancipated black carries a mark which no time can erase; he forever wears the indelible symbol of his inferior condition; *the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots.*

In Greece and Rome, and we imagine it was so during the feudal ages, the domestic slaves were frequently among the most

* "There are more free negroes and mulattoes, said Judge Tucker in 1803, in Virginia alone, than are to be found in the four New-England states, and Vermont in addition to them." (*Tucker's Blackstone*, Vol. 1. Part 2nd. p. 66, foot note.)

learned, virtuous, and intelligent members of society. Terence, Phædrus, Esop, and Epictetus were all slaves. They were frequently taught all the arts and sciences, in order that they might be more valuable to their masters. "Seneca relates," says Wallace in his *Numbers of Mankind*, "that Calvisius Labinus had many anagnostæ slaves, or such as were learned and could read to their masters, and that none of them were purchased under £ 807 5s. 10d. According to Pliny, Daphnis the grammarian cost £ 5651 10s. 10d. Roscius the actor would gain yearly £ 4036 9s. 2d. A morio, or fool, was sold for £ 161 9s. 2d." (*Wallace on the Numbers of Mankind*, page 142.) There was no obstacle, therefore, to the emancipation of such men as these (except as to the fool,) either on the score of colour, intelligence, habits, or any thing else—the *body* of freemen could readily and without difficulty or danger absorb them. Not so now—nor ever will it be in all time to come, with our blacks. With these remarks, we shall close our examination of the plans by which it has been or may be proposed to get rid of slavery. If our arguments are sound, and reasonings conclusive, we have shown they are all wild and visionary, calculated to involve the South in ruin and degradation: and we now most solemnly call upon the statesman and the patriot, the editor and the philanthropist, to pause, and consider well, before they move in this dangerous and delicate business. But a few hasty and fatal steps in advance, and the work may be irretrievable. For Heaven's sake then let us pause, and recollect, that on this subject, so pregnant with the safety, happiness, and prosperity of millions, we shall be doomed to realize the fearful motto, "*nulla vestigia retrorsum.*"

There are some who, in the plenitude of their folly and recklessness, have likened the cause of the blacks to Poland and France, and have *darkly hinted* that the same aspirations which the generous heart breathes for the cause of bleeding, suffering Poland, and revolutionary France, must be indulged for the *insurrectionary blacks*. And has it come at last to this? that the hellish plots and massacres of Dessalines, Gabriel, and Nat Turner, are to be compared to the noble deeds and devoted patriotism of Lafayette, Kosciusko, and Schrynecki? There is an absurdity in this conception, which so outrages reason and the most common feelings of humanity, as to render it unworthy of serious patient refutation. But we will, nevertheless, for a moment examine it, and we shall find, on their own principles, if such reasoners have any principles, that their conception is entirely fallacious. The true theory of the right of revolution we conceive to be the following: no men or set of men are justifiable in attempting a revolution which must *certainly* fail; or if successful must produce *necessarily a much worse state* of things than the pre-existent order. We have not the right to plunge the dagger into the mo-

narch's bosom merely because he is a monarch—we must be sure it is the *only means* of dethroning a tyrant and giving peace and happiness to an aggrieved and suffering people. Brutus would have had no right to kill Cæsar if he could have foreseen the consequences. If France and Poland had been peopled with a race of serfs and degraded citizens, totally unfit for freedom and self-government, and Lafayette and Kosciusko could have known it, they would have been *parricides* instead of *patriots*, to have roused such ignorant and unhappy wretches to engage in a revolution whose object they could not comprehend, and which would inevitably involve them in all the horrors of relentless carnage and massacre. No man has ever yet contended that the blacks could gain their liberty and an ascendancy over the whites by wild insurrections; no one has ever imagined that they could do more than bring down, by their rash and barbarous achievements, the vengeance of the infuriated whites upon their devoted heads. Where then is the analogy to Poland and to France, lands of generous achievement, of learning, and of high and noble purposes, and with people capable of self-government? We shall conclude this branch of our subject with the following splendid extract from a speech of Mr. Canning, which should at least make the rash legislator more distrustful of his specifics.

“In dealing with a negro we must remember that we are dealing with a being possessing the form and strength of a man, but the intellect only of a child. To turn him loose in the manhood of his physical passions, but in the infancy of his uninstructed reason, would be to raise up a creature resembling the splendid fiction of a recent romance; the hero of which constructs a human form with all the physical capabilities of man, and with the thews and sinews of a giant, but being unable to impart to the work of his hands a perception of right and wrong, he finds too late that he has only created a more than mortal power of doing mischief, and himself recoils from the monster which he has made. What is it we have to deal with? is it an evil of yesterday's origin? with a thing which has grown up in our time—of which we have watched the growth—measured the extent—and which we have ascertained the means of correcting or controlling? No, we have to deal with an evil which is the growth of centuries and of tens of centuries; which is almost coeval with the deluge; which has existed under different modifications since man was man. Do gentlemen, in their passion for legislation, think, that after only thirty years discussion, they can now at once manage as they will the most unmanageable perhaps of all subjects? or do we forget, sir, that in fact not more than thirty years have elapsed since we first presumed to approach even the outworks of this great question? Do we, in the ardour of our nascent reformation, forget that during the ages which this system has ex-

isted, no preceding generation of legislators has ventured to touch it with a reforming hand ; and have we the vanity to flatter ourselves that we can annihilate it at a blow? No Sir, No!—If we are to do good it is not to be done by sudden and violent measures.” Let the warning language of Mr. Canning be attended to in our legislative halls, and all rash and intemperate legislation avoided. We will now proceed to the last division of our subject, and examine a little into the injustice and evils of slavery, with the view of ascertaining if we are really exposed to those dangers and horrors which many seem to anticipate in the current of time.

Injustice and Evils of Slavery.

1st. It is said slavery is wrong, in the *abstract* at least, and contrary to the spirit of Christianity. To this we answer as before, that any question must be determined by its circumstances, and if, as really is the case, we cannot get rid of slavery without producing a greater injury to both the masters and slaves, there is no rule of conscience or revealed law of God which *can* condemn us. The physician will not order the spreading cancer to be extirpated, although it will eventually cause the death of his patient, because he would thereby hasten the fatal issue. So if slavery had commenced even contrary to the laws of God and man, and the sin of its introduction rested upon our hands, and it was even carrying forward the nation by slow degrees to final ruin—yet if it were *certain* that an attempt to remove it would only hasten and heighten the final catastrophe—that it was in fact a “*vulnus immedicabile*” on the body politic, which no legislation could safely remove, then, we would not only not be bound to attempt the extirpation, but we would stand guilty of a high offence in the sight of both God and man, if we should rashly make the effort. But the original sin of introduction rests not on our heads, and we shall soon see that all those dreadful calamities which the false prophets of our day are pointing to, will never in all probability occur. With regard to the assertion, that slavery is against the spirit of Christianity, we are ready to admit the general assertion, but deny most positively that there is any thing in the Old or New Testament, which would go to show that slavery, when once introduced, ought at all events to be abrogated, or that the master commits any offence in holding slaves. The Children of Israel themselves were slave-holders, and were not condemned for it. When they conquered the land of Canaan they made one whole tribe “*hewers of wood and drawers of water,*” and they were at that very time under the special guidance of Jehovah ; they were permitted expressly to purchase slaves of the heathens, and keep them as an inheritance for their posterity—and even the Children of Israel might be enslaved for six years.

When we turn to the New Testament, we find not one single passage at all calculated to disturb the conscience of an honest slave-holder. No one can read it without seeing and admiring that the meek and humble Saviour of the world in no instance meddled with the established institutions of mankind—he came to save a fallen world, and not to excite the black passions of men and array them in deadly hostility against each other. From no one did he turn away; his plan was offered alike to all—to the monarch and the subject—the rich and the poor—the master and the slave. He was born in the Roman world, a world in which the most galling slavery existed, a thousand times more cruel than the slavery in our own country—and yet he nowhere encourages insurrection—he nowhere fosters discontent—but exhorts *always* to implicit obedience and fidelity. What a rebuke does the practice of the Redeemer of mankind imply upon the conduct of some of his nominal disciples of the day, who seek to destroy the contentment of the slaves, to rouse their most deadly passions, to break up the deep foundations of society, and to lead on to a night of darkness and confusion! “Let every man (says Paul,) abide in the same calling wherein he is called. Art thou called *being* a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free use *it* rather.” (1 *Corinthians*, vii. 20, 21.) Again; “Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrines be not blasphemed; and they that have believing masters, let them not despise *them*, because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.” (1 *Tim.* vi. 1, 2.) Servants are even commanded in Scripture to be faithful and obedient to unkind masters. “Servants, (says Peter,) be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but to the froward. For what glory is it if when ye shall be buffeted for your faults ye take it patiently; but if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.” (1 *Peter*, ii. 18, 20.) These, and many other passages in the New Testament, most convincingly prove, that slavery in the Roman world was nowhere charged as a fault or crime upon the holder, and everywhere is the most implicit obedience enjoined.*

We beg leave, before quitting this topic, to address a few remarks to those who have conscientious scruples about the holding of slaves, and therefore consider themselves under an obligation to break all the ties of friendship and kindred—dissolve all the associations of happier days, to flee to a land where this

* See *Ephesians*, vi. 5, 9. *Titus*, ii. 9, 10. *Philemon*. *Colossians*, iii. 22, and iv. 1.

evil does not exist. We cannot condemn the conscientious actions of mankind, but we must be permitted to say, that if the assumption even of these pious gentlemen be correct, we do consider their conduct as very unphilosophical, and we will go further still, we look upon it as even immoral upon their own principles. Let us admit that slavery is an evil, and what then? why it has been entailed upon us by no fault of ours, and must we shrink from the charge which devolves upon us, and throw the slave in consequence into the hands of those who have no scruples of conscience—those who will not perhaps treat him so kindly? No! this is not philosophy, it is not morality; we must recollect that the unprofitable man was thrown into utter darkness. To the slave-holder has truly been intrusted the five talents. Let him but recollect the exhortation of the Apostle—"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in Heaven;" and in the final day he shall have nothing on this score with which his conscience need be smitten, and he may expect the welcome plaudit—"Well done thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of the Lord." Hallam, in his *History of the Middle Ages*, says that the greatest moral evil flowing from monastic establishments, consisted in withdrawing the good and religious from society, and leaving the remainder unchecked and unrestrained in the pursuit of their vicious practices. Would not such principles as those just mentioned lead to a similar result? We cannot, therefore, but consider them as *whining and sickly*, and highly unphilosophical and detrimental to society.

2dly. *But it is further said that the moral effects of slavery are of the most deleterious and hurtful kind;* and as Mr. Jefferson has given the sanction of his great name to this charge, we shall proceed to examine it with all that respectful deference to which every sentiment of so pure and philanthropic a heart is justly entitled.

"The whole commerce between master and slave," says he, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal—this quality is the germ of education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning what he sees others do. If a parent had no other motive, either in his own philanthropy or self love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and

daily exercised in the worst of tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.”* Now we boldly assert that the fact does not bear Mr. Jefferson out in his conclusions. He has supposed the master in a continual passion—in the constant exercise of the most odious tyranny, and the child, a creature of imitation, looking on and learning. But is not this master sometimes kind and indulgent to his slaves? does he not mete out to them, for faithful service, the reward of his cordial approbation? Is it not his interest to do it? and when thus acting humanely, and speaking kindly, where is the child, the creature of imitation, that he does not look on and learn? We may rest assured, in this intercourse between a good master and his servant, more good than evil *may* be taught the child, the exalted principles of morality and religion may thereby be sometimes indelibly inculcated upon his mind, and instead of being reared a selfish contracted being, with nought but self to look to—he acquires a more exalted benevolence, a greater generosity and elevation of soul, and embraces for the sphere of his generous actions a much wider field. Look to the slave-holding population of our country, and you everywhere find them characterized by noble and elevated sentiment, by humane and virtuous feelings. We do not find among them that cold, contracted, calculating *selfishness*, which withers and repels every thing around it, and lessens or destroys all the multiplied enjoyments of social intercourse. Go into our national councils, and ask for the most generous, the most disinterested, the most conscientious, and the least unjust and oppressive in their principles, and see whether the slave-holder will be past by in the selection. Edwards says that slavery in the West Indies seems to awaken the laudable propensities of our nature, such as “frankness, sociability, benevolence, and generosity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more prevalent than in the British sugar islands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests—to be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction.”

Is it not a fact, known to every man in the South, that the most *cruel masters* are those who have been unaccustomed to slavery. It is well known that northern gentlemen who marry southern heiresses, are much severer masters than southern gentlemen.† And yet, if Mr. Jefferson’s reasoning were correct, they ought to be much milder: in fact, it follows from his reasoning, that the authority which the father is called on to exercise over his children, must be seriously detrimental; and yet we

* Jefferson’s Notes on Virginia.

† A similar remark is made by Ramsay, and confirmed by Bryan Edwards, in regard to the West Indies. “Adventurers from Europe are universally more cruel and morose towards the slaves, than the Creole or native West Indian.” (*Hist. of W. I. Book 4. Chap. 1.*)

know that this is not the case ; that on the contrary, there is nothing which so much humanizes and softens the heart, as this *very authority* ; and there are none, even among those who have no children themselves, so disposed to pardon the follies and indiscretion of youth, as those who have seen most of them, and suffered greatest annoyance. There may be many cruel relentless masters, and there are unkind and cruel fathers too ; but both the one and the other make all those around them shudder with horror. We are disposed to think that their example in society tends rather to strengthen, than weaken the principle of benevolence and humanity.

Let us now look a moment to the slave, and contemplate *his* position. Mr. Jefferson has described him as hating, rather than loving his master, and as losing, too, all that *amor patriæ* which characterizes the true patriot. We assert again, that Mr. Jefferson is not borne out by the fact. We are well convinced that there is nothing but the mere relations of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, which produce a closer tie, than the relation of master and servant. We have no hesitation in affirming, that throughout the whole slave-holding country, the slaves of a good master are his warmest, most constant, and most devoted friends ; they have been accustomed to look up to him as their supporter, director, and defender. Every one acquainted with southern slaves, knows that the slave rejoices in the elevation and prosperity of his master ; and the heart of no one is more gladdened at the successful debut of young master or miss on the great theatre of the world, than that of either the young slave who has grown up with them, and shared in all their sports, and even partaken of all their delicacies—or the aged one who has looked on and watched them from birth to manhood, with the kindest and most affectionate solicitude, and has ever met from them all, the kind treatment and generous sympathies of feeling tender hearts.

Gilbert Stuart, in his History of Society, says that the time when the vassal of the feudal ages was most faithful, most obedient, and most interested in the welfare of his master, was precisely when his dependance was most complete, and when, consequently, he relied upon his lord for every thing. When the feudal tenure was gradually changing, and the law was interposing between landlord and tenant, the close tie between them began to dissolve, and with it, the kindness on one side, and the affection and gratitude on the other, waned and vanished. From all this, we are forced to draw one important inference—that it is dangerous to the happiness and well being of the slave, for either the imprudent philanthropist to attempt to interpose too often, or the rash legislator to obtrude his regulating edicts, between master and slave. They only serve to

render the slave more intractable and unhappy, and the master more cruel and unrelenting. And we call upon the reverend clergy, whose examples should be pure, and whose precepts should be fraught with wisdom and prudence, to beware, lest in their zeal for the black, they suffer too much of the passion and prejudice of the human heart to mingle with those pure principles by which they should be governed. Let them beware of "what spirit they are of." "No sound," says Burke, "ought to be heard in the church, but the healing voice of Christian charity. Those who quit their proper character, to assume what does not belong to them, are for the most part ignorant of the character they assume, and of the character they leave off. Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the *passions* they excite. Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."

In the debate in the Virginia legislature, no speaker *insinuated even*, we believe, that the slaves in Virginia were not treated kindly; and all too agreed that they were most abundantly fed, and we have no doubt but that they form the happiest portion of our society. A merrier being does not exist on the face of the globe than the negro slave of the United States. *Even* Captain Hall himself, with his thick "crust of prejudice," is obliged to allow that they are happy and contented, and the master much less cruel than is generally imagined. We cannot, therefore, agree with Mr. Jefferson, in the opinion that slavery makes the unfeeling tyrant and the ungrateful dependant; and in regard to Virginia especially, we are almost disposed, judging from the official returns of crimes and convictions, to assert, with a statesman who has descended to his tomb (Mr. Giles,) "that the whole population of Virginia, consisting of three *castes*—of free white, free coloured, and slave coloured population, is the soundest and most moral of any other, according to numbers, in the whole world, as far as is known to me."

3dly. *It has been contended that slavery is unfavourable to a republican spirit:* but the whole history of the world proves that this is far from being the case. In the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, where the spirit of liberty glowed with most intensity, the slaves were more numerous than the freeman. Aristotle, and the great men of antiquity, believed slavery necessary to keep alive the spirit of freedom. In Sparta, the freeman was even forbidden to perform the offices of slaves, lest he might lose the spirit of independence. In modern times, too, liberty has always been more ardently desired by slaveholding communities. "Such," says Burke, "were our Gothic

ancestors; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves who are not slaves themselves.”—“These people of the southern (American) colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those of the northward.” And from the time of Burke down to the present day, the southern states have always borne this same honourable distinction. Burke says, “it is because freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege.” Another, and perhaps more efficient cause, of this, is the perfect spirit of equality so prevalent among the whites of all the slave-holding states. Jack Cade, the English reformer, wished all mankind to be brought to one common level. We believe slavery, in the United States, has accomplished this, in regard to the whites, as nearly as can be expected or even desired in this world. The menial and low offices being all performed by the blacks, there is at once taken away the greatest cause of distinction and separation of the ranks of society. The man to the north will not shake hands familiarly with his servant, and converse, and laugh, and dine with him, no matter how honest and respectable he may be. But go to the south, and you will find that no white man feels such inferiority of rank as to be unworthy of association with those around him. The same thing is observed in the West Indies. “Of the character common to the white residents of the West Indies, it appears to me,” says Edwards, “that the leading feature is an independent spirit, and a display of *conscious equality* throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest white person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest; and emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors.” And it is this spirit of equality which is both the generator and preserver of the genuine spirit of liberty.

4thly. *Insecurity of the whites, arising from plots, insurrections, &c., among the blacks.* This is the evil, after all, let us say what we will, which really operates most powerfully upon the schemers and emancipating philanthropists of those sections where slaves constitute the principal property. Now, if we have shown, as we trust we have, that the scheme of deportation is utterly impracticable, and that emancipation, with permission to remain, will produce all these horrors in *still greater degree*, it follows that this evil of slavery, allowing it to exist in all its latitude, would be no argument for legislative action, and therefore we might well rest contented with this issue; but as we are anxious to exhibit this whole subject in its true bearings, and as we do believe that this evil has been most strangely and causelessly exaggerated, we have determined to examine it

a moment, and point out its true extent. It seems to us, that those who insist most upon it, commit the enormous error of looking upon every slave in the whole slave-holding country as actuated by the most deadly enmity to the whites, and possessing all that reckless, fiendish temper, which would lead him to murder and assassinate the moment the opportunity occurs. This is far from being true; the slave, as we have already said, generally loves the master and his family;* and few indeed there are, who can coldly plot the murder of men, women, and children; and if they do, there are fewer still who can have the villany to execute. We can sit down and imagine that all the negroes in the south have conspired to rise on a certain night, and murder all the whites in their respective families; we may suppose the secret to be kept, and that they have the physical power to exterminate; and yet, we say the whole is *morally impossible*. No insurrection of this kind can ever occur where the blacks are as much civilized as they are in the United States. Savages and Koromantyn slaves can commit such deeds, because their whole life and education have prepared them, and they glory in the achievement; but the negro of the United States has imbibed the principles, the sentiments, and feelings of the white; in one word, he is civilized—at least, comparatively; his whole education and course of life are at war with such fell deeds. Nothing, then, but the most subtle and poisonous principles, sedulously infused into his mind, can break his allegiance, and transform him into the midnight murderer. Any man who will attend to the history of the Southampton massacre, must at once see, that the cause of even the partial success of the insurrectionists, was the very circumstance that there was no extensive plot, and that Nat, a demented fanatic, was under the impression that heaven had enjoined him to liberate the blacks, and had made its manifestations by loud noises in the air, an eclipse, and by the greenness of the sun. It was these signs which determined *him*, and ignorance and superstition, together with implicit confidence in Nat, determined a few others, and thus the bloody work began. So fearfully and reluctantly did they proceed to the execution, that we have no doubt but that if Travis, the first attacked, could have waked whilst they were getting into his house, or could have shot down Nat or Will, the rest would have fled, and the affair would have terminated *in limine*.

We have read with great attention the history of the insurrections in St. Domingo, and have no hesitation in affirming, that

* We scarcely know a single family, in which the slaves, especially the domestics, do not manifest the most unfeigned grief at the deaths which occur among the whites.

to the reflecting mind, that whole history affords the most complete evidence of the difficulty and almost impossibility of succeeding in these plots, even under the most favourable circumstances. It would almost have been a *moral miracle*, if that revolution had not succeeded. The French revolution had kindled a blaze throughout the world. The society of the *Amis des Noirs*, (the friends of the blacks,) in Paris, had educated and disciplined many of the mulattoes, who were almost as numerous as the whites in the island. The National Assembly, in its mad career, declared these mulattoes to be equal in all respects to the whites, and gave them the same privileges and immunities as the whites. During the ten years, too, immediately preceding the revolution, more than 200,000 negroes were imported into the island from Africa. It is a well known fact, that newly imported negroes are always greatly more dangerous than those born among us; and of those importations a very large proportion consisted of Koromantyn slaves, from the Gold Coast, who have all the savage ferocity of the North American Indian.* And lastly, the whites themselves, disunited and strangely inharmious, would nevertheless have suppressed the insurrections, although the blacks and mulattoes were nearly *fifteen-fold* their numbers, if it had not been for the constant and too fatal interference of France. The great sin of that revolution rests on the *National Assembly*, and should be an awful warning to every legislature to beware of too much tampering with so delicate and difficult a subject as an alteration of the fundamental relations of society.

But there is another cause which will render the success of the blacks for ever impossible in the South, as long as slavery exists. It is, that, in modern times especially, wealth and talent must ever rule over *mere* physical force. During the feudal ages, the vassals never made a settled concerted attempt to throw off the yoke of the lord or landed proprietor; and the true reason was, they had neither property nor talent, and consequently the power, under these circumstances, could be placed nowhere else than in the hands of the lords; but so soon as the *tiers etat* arose, with commerce and manufactures, there was something to struggle for, and the *crise des revolutions*, (the crisis of revolutions,) was the consequence. No connected, persevering, and well concerted movement, ever takes place, in modern times, unless for the sake of property. Now, the property, talent, con-

* It was the Koromantyns who brought about the insurrection in Jamaica in 1760. They are a very hardy race; and the Dutch, who are a calculating, money-making people, and withal the most cruel masters in the world, have generally preferred these slaves, because they might be *forced* to do most work; but the consequence of their avarice has been, that they have been more cursed with insurrections than any other people in the West Indies.

cert, and we may add habit, are all with the whites, and render their continued superiority absolutely certain, if they are not meddled with, no matter what may be the disproportion of numbers. We look upon these insurrections in the same light that we do the murders and robberies which occur in society, and in a slave-holding state, they are a sort of substitute for the latter; the robbers and murderers in what are called free states, are generally the poor and needy, who rob for money; negro slaves rarely murder or rob for this purpose; they have no inducement to do it—the fact is, the whole capital of the South is pledged for their maintenance. Now, there is no doubt but that the common robberies and murders, for money, take off, in the aggregate, more men, and destroy more property than insurrections among the slaves; the former are the result of fixed causes *eternally* at work, the latter of occasional causes which are rarely, *very rarely*, in action. Accordingly, if we should look to the whole of our southern population, and compare the average number of deaths, by the hands of assassins, with the numbers elsewhere, we would be astonished to find them perhaps as few or fewer than in any other population of equal amount on the globe. In the city of London there is, upon an average, a murder or a house-breaking and robbery every night in the year, which is greater than the amount of deaths by murders, insurrections, &c., in our whole southern country; and yet the inhabitant of London walks the streets and sleeps in perfect confidence, and why should not we who are in fact in much less danger? These calamities in London, very properly give rise to the establishment of a police, and the adoption of precautionary measures; and so they should in our country, and every where else. And if the Virginia legislature had turned its attention more to this subject during its last session, we think, with all due deference, it would have redounded much more to the advantage of the state than the intemperate discussion which was gotten up.

But it is agreed on almost all hands, that the danger of insurrection now is not very great; but a time must arrive, it is supposed by many, when the dangers will infinitely increase, and either the one or the other race must necessarily be exterminated. “I do believe,” said one in the Virginia legislature, “and such must be the judgment of every reflecting man, that unless something is done in time to obviate it, the day must ar-

* We wish that accurate accounts could be published of all the deaths which had occurred from insurrections in the United States, West Indies, and South America, since the establishment of slavery; and that these could be compared to the whole population that have lived since that epoch, and the number of deaths which occur in other equal amounts of population, from popular sedition, robberies, &c., and we would be astonished to see what little cause we have for the slightest apprehension on this score.

rive when scenes of inconceivable horror must inevitably occur, and one of these two races of human beings will have their throats cut by the other." Another gentleman anticipates the dark day when a negro legislature would be in session in the capital of the Old Dominion! Mr. Clay, too, seems to be full of gloomy anticipations of the future. In his Colonization Speech of 1830, he says, "Already the slaves may be estimated at two millions, and the free population at ten; the former being in the proportion of one to five of the latter. Their respective numbers will probably double in periods of thirty-three years. In the year 1863, the number of the whites will probably be twenty, and of the blacks four millions. In 1896, forty and eight; and in the year 1929, about a century, eighty and sixteen millions. What mind is sufficiently extensive in its reach—what nerve sufficiently strong—to contemplate this vast and progressive augmentation, without an awful foreboding of the tremendous consequences!" If these anticipations are true, then may we, in despair, quietly sit down by the waters of Babylon, and weep over our lot, for we can never remove the blacks. "*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*"

But we have none of these awful forebodings. We do not look to the time when the throats of one race must be cut by the other; on the contrary, we have no hesitation in affirming, and we think we can prove it too, that in 1929, taking Mr. Clay's own statistics, we shall be much more secure from plots and insurrections, than we are at this moment. It is an undeniable fact, that in the increase of population, the power and security of the dominant party always increase *much more* than in proportion to the relative augmentation of their numbers. One hundred men can much more easily keep an equal number in subjection than fifty, and a million would rule a million more certainly and securely than any lesser number. The dominant can only be overturned by concert and harmony among the subject party, and the greater the relative numbers on both sides, the more impossible does this concert on the part of the subjected become. A police, too, of the same *relative* numbers, is much more efficient amid a numerous population, than a very sparse one. We will illustrate by example, which cannot fail to strike even the most sceptical. Mr. Gibbon supposes that the hundredth man in any community, is as much as the people can afford to keep in pay for the purposes of a police. Now suppose the community be only one hundred, then one man alone is the police. Is it not evident that the ninety-nine will be able at any moment to destroy him, and throw off all restraint? Suppose the community one thousand, then ten will form the police, which would have a rather better chance of keeping up order among the nine hundred and ninety, than the one in the one

hundred, but still this would be insufficient. Let your community swell to one million, and ten thousand would then form the police, and ten thousand troops will strike terror in any city on the face of the globe. Lord Wellington lately asserted in the British Parliament, that Paris, containing a population of a million of souls (the most boisterous and ungovernable,) never required, before the reign of Louis Philip, more than forty-five hundred troops to keep it in the most perfect subjection. It is this very principle which explains the fact so frequently noticed, that revolutions are effected much more readily in small states than in large ones. The little republics of Greece underwent revolutions almost every month—the dominant party was never safe for a moment.—The little states of modern Italy have undergone more changes and revolutions than all the rest of Europe together, and if foreign influence were withdrawn, almost every ship from Europe, even now, would bring the news of some new revolution in those states. If the standing army will remain firm to the government, a successful revolution in most large empires, as France, Germany, and Russia, is almost impossible. The two revolutions in France have been successful, in consequence of the disaffection of the troops, who have joined the popular party.

Let us apply these principles to our own case; and for the sake of simplicity we will take a country of a mixed population of twenty thousand, viz. blacks ten thousand, and whites as many:—the patrol which they can keep out, would, according to our rule, be two hundred—double both sides, and the patrol would be four hundred, quadruple and it would be eight hundred—now a patrol of eight hundred would be much more efficient than the two hundred, though they were, relatively to the numbers kept in order, exactly the same; and the same principle is applicable to the progress of population in the whole slave-holding country. In 1929, our police will be much more efficient than now, if the two castes preserve any thing like the same relative numbers. We believe it would be better for the whites that the negro population should double, if they added only one half more to their numbers, than that they should remain stationary on both sides. Hence an insuperable objection to all these deporting schemes—they cannot diminish the relative proportion of the blacks to the whites, but on the contrary increase it, while they check the augmentation of the population as a whole, and consequently lessen the security of the dominant party. We do not fear the increase of the blacks, for that very increase adds to the wealth of society, and enables it to keep up the police. This is the true secret of the security of the West Indies and Brazil. In Jamaica, the blacks are eight fold the whites; throughout the extensive empire of Brazil, they are three to one. Political

prophets have been prophesying for fifty years past, that the day would speedily arrive, when all the West Indies would be in the possession of the negroes; and the danger is no greater now, than it was at the commencement. We sincerely believe the blacks never will get possession, unless through the mad interference of the mother countries, and *even* then we are doubtful whether they can conquer the whites. Now, we have nowhere in the United States, the immense disproportion between the two races observed in Brazil and the West Indies, and we are not like to have it in all time to come. We have no data, therefore, upon which to anticipate that dreadful crisis, which so torments the imagination of some.

But our population returns have been looked to, and it has been affirmed that they show a steady increase of blacks, which will finally carry them in all proportion beyond the whites, and that this will be particularly the case in Eastern Virginia. We have no fears on this score either: even if it were true, the danger would not be very great. With the increase of the blacks, we can afford to enlarge the police; and we will venture to say, that with the hundredth man at our disposal, and faithful to us, we would keep down insurrection in any large country on the face of the globe. But the speakers in the Virginia legislature, in our humble opinion, made most unwarrantable inferences from the census returns. They took a period between 1790 and 1830, and judged exclusively from the aggregate results of that whole time. Mr. Brown pointed out their fallacy, and showed that there was but a small portion of the period in which the blacks had rapidly gained upon the whites, but during the residue they were most rapidly losing their high relative increase, and would, perhaps, in 1840, exhibit an augmentation less than the whites. But let us go a little back—in 1740 the slaves in South Carolina, says Marshall, were three times the whites, the danger from them was greater then than it ever has been since, or ever will be again. There was an insurrection in that year, which was put down with the utmost ease, although instigated and aided by the Spaniards. The slaves in Virginia, at the same period, were much more numerous than the whites. Now suppose some of those *peepers* into futurity could have been present, would they not have predicted the speedy arrival of the time when the blacks, running ahead of the whites in numbers, would have destroyed their security? In 1763, the black population of Virginia was 100,000, and the white 70,000. In South Carolina, the blacks were 90,000, and the whites 40,000. Comparing these with the returns of 1740, our prophets, could they have lived so long, might have found some consolation in the greater relative increase of the whites. Again, when we see in 1830, that the blacks in both states have fallen in numbers below the whites, our pro-

phets, were they alive, might truly be pronounced *false*. (See *Holmes's Annals*, and *Marshall's Life of Washington*, on this subject.)

We are happy to see that the legislature of Virginia, during the last session, incorporated a company to complete the James river and Kanhawa improvements, and that the city of Richmond has so liberally contributed by her subscriptions, as to render the project almost certain of success. It is this great improvement which is destined to revolutionize the financial condition of the Old Dominion, and speed her on more rapidly in wealth and numbers, than she has ever advanced before: the snail pace at which she has hitherto been crawling, is destined to be converted into the giant's stride, and this very circumstance, of itself, will defeat all the gloomy predictions about the blacks. The first effect of the improvement will be to raise up larger towns in the eastern portion of the state. Besides other manifold advantages which these towns will diffuse, they will have a tendency to draw into them the capital and free labourers of the north, and in this way to destroy the proportion of the blacks. Baltimore is now an exemplification of this fact, which by its mighty agency is fast making Maryland a non-slave-holding state. Again, the rise of cities in the lower part of Virginia, and increased density of population, will render the division of labour more complete, break down the large farms into small ones, and substitute, in a great measure, the garden for the plantation cultivation: consequently, less slave and more free labour will be requisite, and in due time the abolitionists will find this most lucrative system working to their heart's content, increasing the prosperity of Virginia, and diminishing the evils of slavery without those impoverishing effects which all other schemes must *necessarily* have. We hope then that those gentlemen who have so perseveringly engaged in urging forward this great scheme of improvement, will not falter until the work is accomplished, and they will have the consolation of seeing that its moral effects will be no less salutary than the physical.

5thly, and lastly. *Slave labour is unproductive, and the distressed condition of Virginia and the whole South is owing to this cause.* Our limits will not allow us to investigate fully this assertion, but a very partial analysis will enable us to show that the truth of the general proposition upon which the conclusion is based, depends on circumstances, and that those circumstances do not apply to our southern country. The ground assumed by Smith and Storch, who are the most able supporters of the doctrine of the superior productiveness of free labour, is that each one is actuated by a desire to accumulate when free, and this desire produces much more efficient and constant exertions than can possibly be expected from the feeble operation of

fear upon the slave. We are, in the main, converts to this doctrine, but must be permitted to limit it by some considerations. It is very evident, when we look to the various countries in which there is free labour alone, that a vast difference in its productiveness is manifested. The English operative we are disposed to consider the most productive labourer in the world, and the Irish labourer, in his immediate neighbourhood, is not more than equal to the southern slave—the Spanish and even Italian labourers are inferior. Now, how are we to account for this great difference? It will be found *mainly* to depend upon the operation of two great principles, and *secondarily* upon attendant circumstances. These two principles are the desire to accumulate and better our condition, and a desire to indulge in idleness and inactivity.

We have already seen that the principle of idleness triumphed over the desire for accumulation among the savages of North and South America, among the African nations, among the blacks of St. Domingo, &c., and nothing but the strong arm of authority could overcome its operation. In southern countries, idleness is very apt to predominate, even under the most favourable circumstances, over the desire to accumulate, and slave labour, consequently, in such countries, is most productive. Again, staple-growing states are, *cæteris paribus*, more favourable to slave labour than manufacturing states. Slaves in such countries may be worked in bodies under the eye of a superintendent, and made to perform more labour than freemen. There is no instance of the successful cultivation of the sugar cane by free labour. St. Domingo, once the greatest sugar-growing island in the world, makes now scarcely enough for her own supply. We very much doubt even whether slave labour be not best for all southern agricultural countries. Humboldt, in his New Spain, says he doubts whether there be a plant on the globe so productive as the banana, and yet these banana districts, strange to tell, are the poorest and most miserable in all South America, because the people only labour a little to support themselves, and spend the rest of their time in idleness. There is no doubt but slave labour would be the most productive kind in these districts. We doubt whether the extreme south of the United States, and the West India islands, would ever have been cultivated to the same degree of perfection as now, by any other than slave labour.

But it is said free labour becomes cheaper than slave labour, and finally extinguishes it, as has actually happened in the West of Europe; this we are ready to admit, but think it was owing to a change in the tillage, and the rise of manufactures and commerce, to which free labour alone is adapted. As a proof of this, we can cite the populous empire of China, and the eastern nations generally, where slave labour has stood its ground against free

labour, although the population is denser, and the proportional means of subsistence more scanty than anywhere else on the face of the globe. How is this to be accounted for, let us ask? Does it not prove, that under some circumstances, slave labour is as productive as free? We would as soon look to China to test this principle, as any other nation on earth. Again, looking to the nations of antiquity, if the Scriptural accounts are to be relied on, the number of inhabitants in Palestine must have been more than 6,000,000; at which rate, Palestine was at least, when taking into consideration her limited territory, five times as populous as England.* Now we know that the tribes of Judah and Israel both used slave labour, and it must have been exceedingly productive, for we find the two Kings of Judah and Israel bringing into the field no less than 1,200,000 chosen men;† and Jehosaphat, the son of Asa, had an army consisting of 1,160,000;‡ and what a prodigious force must he have commanded, had he been sovereign of all the tribes! Nothing but the most productive labour could ever have supported the immense armies which were then led into the field.

Wallace thinks that ancient Egypt must have been thrice as populous as England; and yet so valuable was slave labour, that ten of the most dreadful plagues that ever affected mankind, could not dispose the selfish heart of Pharaoh to part with his Israelitish slaves; and when he lost them, Egypt sunk, never to rise to her pristine grandeur again. Ancient Italy too, not to mention Greece, was exceedingly populous, and perhaps Rome was a larger city than any of modern times—and yet slave labour supported these dense populations, and even rooted out free labour. All these examples prove sufficiently, that under certain circumstances, slave is as productive, and even more productive, than free labour.

But the southern states, and particularly Virginia, have been compared with the non-slave-holding states, and pronounced far behind them in the general increase of wealth and population; and this, it is said, is a decisive proof of the inferiority of slave labour in this country. We are sorry we have not the space for a thorough investigation of this assertion, but we have no doubt of its fallacy. Look to the progress of the colonies before the establishment of the federal government, and you find the slave-holding were the most prosperous and the most wealthy. The north dreaded the formation of the confederated government, *precisely* because of its *poverty*. This is an historic fact. It stood to the south, as Scotland did to England at the period of the Union; and feared lest the south, by its superior wealth, supported by

* See Wallace on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 52, Edinb. Edit.

† 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

‡ 2 Chron. xvii.

this very *slave labour*, which, all of a *sudden*, has become so unproductive, should abstract the little wealth which it possessed. Again, look to the exports at the present time of the whole confederacy, and what do we see—why, that one-third of the states, and those *slave-holding* too, furnish two-thirds of the whole exports!! But although this is now the case, we are still not prosperous. Let us ask them two simple questions; 1st. How came the south, for two hundred years, to prosper with her slave labour, if so very unproductive and ruinous? and 2dly. How does it happen, that her exports are so great even now, and that her prosperity is nevertheless on the decline? Painful as the accusation may be to the heart of the true patriot, we are forced to assert, that the unequal operation of the federal government has principally achieved it. The north has found that it could not compete with the south in agriculture, and has had recourse to the system of duties, for the purpose of raising up the business of manufactures. This is a business in which the slave labour cannot compete with northern, and in order to carry this system through, a coalition has been formed with the west, by which a large portion of the federal funds are to be spent in that quarter for internal improvements. These duties act as a discouragement to southern industry, which furnishes the exports by which the imports are purchased, and a bounty to northern labour, and the partial disbursements of the funds increase the pressure on the south to a still greater degree. It is not slave labour then which has produced our depression, but it is the action of the federal government which is ruining slave labour.

There is at this moment an exemplification of the destructive influence of government agency in the West Indies. The British West India Islands are now in a more depressed condition than any others, and both the Edinburgh and London Quarterly Reviews charge their depression upon the regulations, taxing sugar, coffee, &c., and preventing them, at the same time, from purchasing bread stuffs, &c. from the United States, which can be furnished by them cheaper than from any other quarter. Some of the philanthropists of Great Britain cry out it is slavery which has done it, and the slaves must be liberated; but they are at once refuted by the fact, that never has island flourished more rapidly than Cuba, in its immediate neighbourhood. And Cuba flourishes because she enjoys free trade, and has procured of late plenty of slaves. It is curious that the population of this island has, for the last thirty years, kept pace with that of Pennsylvania, one of the most flourishing of the states of the confederacy, and her wealth has increased in a still greater ratio.* Look again to Brazil, per-

* See some interesting statistics concerning this island in Mr. Poinsett's Notes on Mexico.

haps, at this moment, the most prosperous state of South America, and we find her slaves three times more numerous than the freemen. Mr. Brougham, in his Colonial Policy, says that Cayenne never flourished as long as she was scantily supplied with slaves, but her prosperity commenced the moment she was supplied with an abundance of this *unproductive* labour. Now we must earnestly ask an explanation of these phenomena, upon the principle that slave labour is unproductive.

There are other causes too, which have operated in concert with the federal government, to depress the south. The climate is unhealthy, and upon an average, perhaps one-tenth of the labour is suspended during the sickly months. There is a great deal of travelling too, from this cause, to the north, which abstracts the capital from the south, and spreads it over the north; and added to all this, the *standard of comfort* is much higher in the slave-holding than the non-slave-holding states.* All these circumstances together, are surely sufficient to account for the depressed condition of the south, without asserting that slave labour is valueless. But we believe all other causes as "dust in the balance," when compared with the operation of the federal government.

How does it happen that Louisiana, with a greater proportional number of slaves than any other state in the Union, with the most insalubrious climate, with one-fourth of her white population spread over the more northern states in the sickly season, and with a higher *standard of comfort* than perhaps any other state in the Union, is nevertheless one of the most rapidly flourishing in the whole southern country? The true answer is, she has been so fortunately situated as to be able to reap the fruits of federal protection. "Midas's wand" has touched her, and she

* In the Virginia debate, it was said that the slow progress of the Virginia population was a most unerring symptom of her want of prosperity, and the inefficacy of slave labour. Now we protest against this criterion, unless very cautiously applied. Ireland suffers more from want and famine than any other country in Europe, and yet her population advances almost as rapidly as ours, and it is this very increase which curses the country with the plague of famine. In the Highlands of Scotland, they have a very sparse population, scarcely increasing at all; and yet they are much better fed, clothed, &c. than in Ireland. Malthus has proved, that there are two species of checks which repress redundant populations—*positive* and *preventive*. It is the latter which keeps down the Scotch population; while the former, always accompanied with misery, keeps down the Irish. We believe at this time the preventive checks are in full operation in Virginia. The people of that state live much better than the same classes to the north, and they will not get married unless there is a prospect of maintaining their families in the same style they have been accustomed to live in. We believe the preventive checks may commence their operation too soon for the wealth of a state, but they always mark a high degree of civilization—so that the slow progress of population in Virginia turns out to be her highest eulogy.

has reaped the golden harvest. There is no complaint there of the unproductiveness of slave labour.

But it is time to bring this long article to a close; it is upon a subject which we have most reluctantly discussed; but, as we have already said, the example was set from a higher quarter; the seal has been broken, and we therefore determined to enter fully into the discussion. If our positions be true, and it does seem to us they may be sustained by reasoning almost as conclusive as the demonstration of the mathematician, it follows, that the time for emancipation has not yet arrived, and perhaps it never will. We hope sincerely, that the intelligent sons of Virginia will ponder well before they move—before they enter into a scheme which will destroy more than half Virginia's wealth, and drag her down from her proud and elevated station among the mean things of the earth.



